FO

42

E
2032

296

SECRET

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

Printed for the use of the Foreign Office

(20250) Copy No.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

TURKEY

PART 10

January to December 1956

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
General Correspondence			
1 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 5**	1956 Jan. 16	Turkey: Annual review for 1955	1
2 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 11**	Jan. 24	Religious developments in Turkey during recent years ... ... Religious Affairs Department criticised for confining its activities to routine work rather than to the training of radically-minded teachers to replace the Imams; Opposition criticism of the Prime Minister for his definition of laicism and statement of belief in the value of religious instruction in secondary schools.	11
3 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 34**	Feb. 21	Report by the Turkish Martial Law Command on the investigations into the riots of September 6, 1955 ... ... Investigations concluded into the September riots in Istanbul; blame for the riots laid on the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association and to a lesser extent on the Students' Federation; no mention made of governmental responsibility and no attempt made to explain the high degree of organisation of the rioting.	14
4 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 40**	Mar. 5	Turkey: Annual review of foreign policy	17
5 London	Mar. 11	Record of conversation on March 11, 1956, between the Secretary of State and the Turkish Prime Minister ...	23
6 London	Mar. 12	Record of conversation on March 11, 1956, between the Secretary of State and the Turkish Prime Minister	29
7 London	Mar. 12	Record of conversation between the Secretary of State and the President of the Turkish Republic on March 12, 1956 ...	32
8 Sir William Hayter... (1) **No. 286 Tel.** (2) **No. 287 Tel.**	Mar. 16	Soviet-Turkish relations	33
9 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 55**	Mar. 20	Turkish satisfaction at Secretary of State's visit to Ankara from the 11th to 13th March, 1956	35
10 Paris...	May 3	Record of a meeting between the Secretary of State and Mr. Koprulu at the British Embassy, Paris, on May 3, 1956	37
11 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 110**	June 19	Some observations on the strength and weaknesses of M. Menderes régime in Turkey	39
12 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 137**	July 25	Official visit to Turkey of the President of Pakistan from the 15th to the 29th of July, 1956	42
13 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 148**	Aug. 15	King Idris' visit to Turkey from the 6th to the 11th of August, 1956	44
14 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 168**	Sept. 12	A review of the Turkish political scene	47
15 Mr. Stewart ... **No. 164**	Sept. 25	Corruption in Turkish public life	50
16 Mr. Stewart ... **No. 189 E.**	Oct. 15	The Turkish economic situation	52
17 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 200**	Nov. 6	Progress of the Turkish development programme	56
18 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 234**	Dec. 28	The Turkish reaction to Her Majesty's Government's proposals for Cyprus	59

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Appendix—Biographical Notes

No. and Name	Date	Subject	Page
19 Sir James Bowker ... **No. 166**	1956 Sept. 1	Turkey: Heads of foreign missions	61
20 Mr. Stewart ... **No. 175**	Sept. 17	Annual report on the leading personalities	[1

Subject Index

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

Annual Report on the Heads of Foreign Missions—19.

Annual Report on the Leading Personalities—20.

Annual Review for 1955—1.

Annual Review of Foreign Policy—4.

Conversation on March 11, 1956, between the Secretary of State and the Turkish Prime Minister—5.

Conversation on March 12, 1956, between the Secretary of State and the Turkish Prime Minister—6.

Conversation on March 12, 1956, between the Secretary of State and the President of Turkey—7.

Development Programme in Turkey—
Progress of the—17.

Economic Situation in Turkey—16.

King Idris' visit to Turkey—13.

Meeting between the Secretary of State and Mr. Koprulu, at the British Embassy, Paris, on May 3, 1956—
Record of—10.

Menderes' Régime in Turkey—
Observations on the strength and weaknesses of the—11.

President of Pakistan (General Iskander Mirza)—
Visit to Turkey in July 1956—12.

Proposals for Cyprus—
Turkey's reaction to Her Majesty's Government's —18.

Religious Development in Turkey during recent years—2.

Riots of September 6, 1955—
Report by the Turkish Martial Law Commission on the investigations following the—3.

Secretary of State's visit to Ankara—
Turkish satisfaction at—9.

Soviet Turkish Relations—8 (1) and (2).

Turkish Political Scene—
Review of the—14.

Turkish Public Life—
Corruption in—15.

18996—40 52591

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING TURKEY—PART 10

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

RK 1011/1 No. 1

TURKEY: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1955

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received January 21*)

(No. 5. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *January 16, 1956.*

I have the honour to submit my report on Turkey for 1955.

2. The year under review was an eventful and difficult year for Turkey. Her success in foreign affairs in concluding and promoting the expansion of the Bagdad Pact was offset by the serious threat to her alliance with Greece resulting from the Cyprus issue and the riots in Istanbul and Izmir in September. In internal affairs the year was marked by steadily mounting dissatisfaction with the Prime Minister's dictatorial methods culminating in a change of Government in December, and a steady deterioration in the economic situation.

Internal Affairs

3. Hopes born of certain public statements by the Prime Minister in the earlier part of the year that he was prepared to adopt a more conciliatory attitude to the Opposition were quickly disappointed and the Grand National Assembly adjourned at the end of May on a note of renewed inter-party bitterness. The Opposition's criticism, centred principally on the illiberal aspects of the Democrat administration, in particular the press law, remained without effect and their aspersions on the Government's economic policy evoked the accusation that they were indulging in a conspiracy against Turkey and creating artificial shortages in the country. Such criticism, which failed to move the Prime Minister when coming from the Opposition, proved more effective when voiced, as it came to be later in the year, by members of his own party. The first open dissension within the Democrat Party centred round the question of the right of proof as a defence against charges of slandering members of the Government. This led in October to the expulsion of nine members of the party and resignation of ten others. At the October Congress of the Democrat Party the Prime Minister obtained a unanimous vote of confidence, but there was in fact much dissatisfaction within the party. At its end the congress was rushed into approving, without proper debate, the introduction of a Bill which would permit the expulsion from the Grand National Assembly of any Deputies who resigned from, or were expelled from, the party to which they belonged at the time of their election; this created another subject of political controversy. In mid-November the nineteen Democrat dissidents decided to form a new party, the Freedom Party, which adopted the basic programme of the Democrat Party but demanded a greater degree of personal freedom in its execution. The constitution of the party and its programme were formally announced in December, by which time its numbers had swelled to thirty-three, including twenty-nine Deputies, six of whom were ex-Ministers, all former members of the Democrat Party. M. Fevzi Lutfi Karaosmanoglu was elected president.

4. This political revolt, together with the set-back suffered by the Government at the Municipal Elections in November, when 22 per cent. of the seats were won by Independents, encouraged free-speaking among the public and in the press, and also among the rank and file of the party. The press began to publish outspoken articles, not only about the right of proof and the right of expulsion, but also about the economic situation, and it was on the last issue that the second revolt in the Democrat Party centred. At a long and stormy meeting of the Parliamentary Group at the end of November, interpellations were directed particularly against the Ministers of Finance, Economy and Commerce and the

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, together, were mainly responsible for the allocation of foreign exchange. In the face of bitter attacks the Prime Minister was obliged to offer the resignation of the Cabinet, while managing to secure a vote of confidence in himself. He subsequently tendered his resignation to the President of the Republic and was instructed to form a new Government. After a series of consultations which lasted a fortnight, the new Government was formed, from which nine of the former Ministers had been dropped, including those against whom the attacks in the group had been specially directed, and into whose activities, shortly afterwards, it was decided to conduct a parliamentary investigation.

5. The new Government's programme expressed the intention of introducing certain more liberal political measures and Bills were soon prepared to restore the right of proof in cases of slander, to repeal illiberal amendments in the Electoral Law which were introduced in 1954 and to increase the pensionable period for Government officials to thirty years thus giving judges, in particular, more security of tenure. There were also references to the possibility of setting up a committee to study constitutional reform. These developments were hailed by some sections of the press and public as marking a return to a more democratic form of government, but doubts remained in many quarters about the real extent of the Prime Minister's change of heart. And, indeed, by the end of the year it could not be said that he had given convincing evidence of such a change.

6. The sections of the new Government's programme dealing with their economic policy was so full of ambiguities and evasions that in itself it constituted no assurance that Turkey's serious economic difficulties were at last to be tackled effectively. Nor was this impression lessened by consideration of the personalities whose business it would be to carry out the programme. At the meeting of the Parliamentary Group of the Democrat Party, to which the Government's programme was submitted before it was presented to the Assembly, the Prime Minister was reported to have promised that there would be no new investment projects, that imports would be restricted to essential requirements, and that a Ministerial Council would be set up to co-ordinate and control economic policy if the Parliamentary Group wished it. But the year ended without any real indication that the Prime Minister was prepared to take the firm measures necessary to check the growing inflation and the deficit on foreign payments which were the basic causes of Turkey's economic troubles. In short, the Turkish Government continued throughout the year their policy of living beyond their means. They spent more than their revenue, they imported more than they could pay for, they invested more than was prudent, they used the Central Bank to finance the deficits of the budget, the State enterprises and the Soil Products Office and they tried to curb inflation by decree without adopting the measures of retrenchment needed to stabilise the economy. The result was an expanding note circulation, a steady rise in prices, increasing difficulty in selling Turkish export produce, the dwindling of most imports other than capital goods, growing internal shortages, the stoppage of many factories dependent on imported supplies and an increase in foreign indebtedness in spite of the operation of many agreements for the liquidation of arrears. Against this background, the hopes placed in the possibility of successful drilling for oil (due to start in 1956) seemed exaggerated.

7. Outside the main stream of events, the riots of September 6–7 in Istanbul and Izmir were of great significance in the context of Turkey's development as a "western" country. They showed that, in spite of the docility of the Turkish people and the steady expansion of the authority of the central Government since the revolution, the country was as yet far from having developed to the stage reached by the democracies of Western Europe. Strong measures were taken to prevent further disorders and the Government promptly imposed martial law in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. They did not, however, take advantage of this generally to tighten up their political control; and the danger that they might impose a more or less dictatorial régime, in the name of the maintenance of law and order, has now receded.

8. The year closed on a note of uncertainty and anxiety. The circumstances of the Government crisis in November and the events which had led up to it, as also the gradually widening effects on the public of the Government's irresponsible economic policy, had deprived the Prime Minister of much of the authority and esteem which he had previously enjoyed as the leader of the party with an

overwhelming majority in Parliament and the inaugurator of a spectacular policy of development of the country's resources. Though his new Government received a nearly solid vote of confidence from the Democrat Party in the Assembly, the party had made it clear that they would in future insist on a much larger part in the control of policy. Meanwhile the new Freedom Party constituted a potential magnet of attractions for further Democrat Deputies known to be wavering in their loyalty. Whether M. Menderes would succeed in re-establishing his position seemed likely to depend, not only on the extent to which he was prepared to moderate his dictatorial methods of administration, but most of all on whether he would adapt his economic policy to the exigencies of the situation and so render Turkey eligible for the further financial support from America without which she could not hope to emerge from her present difficulties. While the events of the last few months of the year gave cause for further hope that Turkey would continue to advance along the road of democratic parliamentary government, they were at the same time a reminder of how small is yet the store of administrative ability and experience in Turkey and of the dangerous effects which such a political crisis might have on the country's internal stability.

Foreign Affairs

9. The policy of strengthening her eastern flank by developing closer associations with her eastern neighbours and the Arab States, on which Turkey had worked with such systematic vigour in the previous year, achieved its first success with the signature on the 24th of February, in Bagdad, of the Treaty of Mutual Co-operation between Turkey and Iraq. With the accession of the United Kingdom in April, of Pakistan in September and Iran in October, the way was opened for setting up the Ministerial Council of what was henceforth to be known as the Bagdad Pact, provided for under Article 6. The inaugural meeting of the Council was held in Bagdad in November, at which the Permanent Organisation of the Pact was established. This rapid development of the Northern Tier policy, and the creation of the nucleus of a Middle East defence system, owed much to Turkey's persuasive initiative. Seeing so much achieved so fast, the Turkish Government were convinced that the moment had come to make a concerted effort to bring Jordan into the Pact, after which the way would, they hoped, be open for the Lebanon to follow suit. The Turkish President and Acting Foreign Minister did their utmost to influence King Hussein and the Jordan Prime Minister in this sense during the President's visit to Jordan in October, and the events which followed the subsequent visit of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff to Amman in December were a great disappointment to Turkish hopes. These developments in the Middle East took place against the background of numerous formal and informal visits exchanged between official personalities of Turkey and the States in the Middle East area.

10. While Turkey continued to maintain high level of trade exchanges with Israel, the latter did not conceal her resentment at Turkey's policy of close association with the Arab States, and in particular her acceptance of the exchange of letters attached to the Bagdad Pact relating to the United Nations resolutions on Palestine.

11. Progress in building up a defence system on Turkey's eastern flank was offset by a reduction of tempo in the Balkan Alliance. The Turkish Prime Minister took the occasion of the meeting of the Balkan Alliance Council of Foreign Ministers in Ankara at the end of February to press his view that the moment had come to forge a link between the Alliance and N.A.T.O. The theme was further pressed during his visit to Yugoslavia in May, and disappointment over the lack of Yugoslav response on that occasion was made more acute by the announcement shortly afterwards of the Russian visit to Yugoslavia, of which Turkey had received no advance intimation. The Yugoslavs have since admitted that they are deliberately playing down the military aspect of the Balkan Alliance and the Turks have regarded this as equivalent to preventing it from further effective development.

12. The solidarity of the Balkan Alliance was further weakened by the development of the Cyprus issue, which later in the year was to bring about a sharp conflict between Turkey and Greece. The outcome of the Greek appeal to the United Nations at the end of 1954 was regarded as on the whole satisfactory, and until late summer the Turkish Government continued to do their best to check further excitement over the question in the hope of preventing it from becoming a

serious Turco-Greek issue. They gladly accepted Her Majesty's Government's invitation to attend the tripartite conference in London in August as giving them a further opportunity of publicly stating the Turkish thesis. The outbreak of violence in Cyprus however, and fears of the Turkish community there made it impossible to restrain Turkish public opinion and on the eve of the conference the Prime Minister made a very forthright statement which further excited the people. At the conference, M. Zorlu gave a clear and cogent exposition of the historical and geopolitical grounds for Turkey's interest in Cyprus and her concern to see the existing status of the island maintained, though his summary rejection of Her Majesty's Government's proposals compared unfavourably with the slightly less rigid attitude of the Greek delegation. At this juncture, the wholesale looting by Turkish mobs of Greek shops and churches in Istanbul, and of certain Greek property in Izmir (referred to in paragraph 7 above), dealt a shattering blow to Turkey's good name abroad and to twenty-five years of patient work in the building up of Turco-Greek friendship, and for a time even threatened Greece's continued participation in N.A.T.O. The Turkish Prime Minister expressed extreme remorse at these events and promised compensation to the sufferers. Under the powers of martial law the press were prevented not only from criticising the Government on internal matters but also from publishing news about Cyprus or Greece or any other question liable to inflame the public. Freedom was only restored to the press when martial law was raised in Ankara and Izmir in December (it still remained in force in Istanbul). Although the Turkish Government made honourable amends for the attacks on the Greek Consulate and the property of Greek officials attached to the N.A.T.O. Headquarters at Izmir, and to meet the latter's claim for compensation, the year ended without the promised Bill providing for compensation for victims of the riots having been presented to the Grand National Assembly. Meanwhile the Greek Government, in reply to a Turkish reminder addressed to them and to the Yugoslav Government that a further meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Alliance was due, announced that they could not consider attending such a meeting until the Turkish Government had implemented their promise to provide compensation. Relations between the two countries were further impaired by charges brought against the Greek Consul-General and Vice-Consul at Salonika of having introduced by the diplomatic bag the bomb, the explosion of which in the house where Atatürk was born had been responsible, so the Turks claimed, for touching off the September riots in Istanbul and Izmir.

13. America's continued contribution to the equipment and expansion of the Turkish armed forces and Turkey's military budget, and the presence in Turkey of thousands of Americans engaged in administering it, kept America foremost among foreign countries in Turkish minds. But as Turkey's economic difficulties grew, she tended increasingly to exploit her position as the eastern bastion of N.A.T.O. in support of her claims for further help. Her persistent dunning of the Americans throughout the year, combined, as it was, with a rigid refusal to accept American advice on the measures which she should take to put her economic house in order, lost her a good deal of the abundant good will which she had hitherto enjoyed in America. Matters were not improved by M. Zorlu's visit to Washington in early June, nor by the Turkish Government's successive attempts to gain the direct support of the Republican Party for their claims by by-passing the American Administration. At the end of the year the Americans, while anxious to see signs of grace in the new Government's economic programme, were still waiting for some concrete proof of a change of heart. In the political field, Turkey was inclined to complain of what she regarded as a falling off in American support for her Middle East policy and was disappointed at America's failure to join the Bagdad Pact.

14. Relations with France were clouded by French opposition to the Bagdad Pact and by Turkish distrust of her Middle Eastern and North African policy. Though Turkey supported France over Algeria in the United Nations on the grounds that it was an internal affair, there was no serious political collaboration between the two countries.

15. Turkey took part in the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandoeng in April at which her delegation, led by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, exercised a discreetly moderating influence. She afterwards became a member of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations. Though her hope is to be able to exercise

a continuous restraining influence on this group she also found it necessary to make some concessions to their anti-Western views.

16. Turkey continued to develop both economic and political relations with the Federal German Republic, and particular attentions were paid to the Federal German Minister of Defence and the Chief of Staff during their visit to Turkey in October.

17. Turkey's traditional mistrust of Russia remained unchanged, and though on several occasions the Russians, through one channel or another, indicated their desire for closer cultural, economic or political relations with Turkey, the Turks maintained their attitude that improvement of relations between Russia and Turkey could come about only through an improvement of relations between Russia and the West as a whole.

18. The tenth annual meeting of the International Bank and Monetary Fund was held in Istanbul in September, during which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. R. A. Butler, who headed the United Kingdom delegation, had the opportunity of making personal contact with the Turkish Prime Minister and the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. The meeting, following as it did hard on an international Police Conference and coinciding with the Byzantine Conference, put a heavy strain on local hotel accommodation. The Turkish authorities characteristically met the situation by a good deal of last-minute improvisation. Conditions were further complicated by the fact that many of the retail shops in Istanbul had been out of action a few days before as a result of the riots.

19. Referring to political relations between Turkey and the United Kingdom when writing in the spring, *The Times* Correspondent in Istanbul commented that there had probably never been a moment since the Crimean War when there were so few points of conflict between the two countries. The Turkish Government kept Her Majesty's Government continuously and closely informed of their policy both in regard to the Balkan Alliance and, still more, in the Middle East. The Turkish Prime Minister more than once expressed his appreciation of Her Majesty's Government's steady and effective support of his efforts to consolidate and expand the Bagdad Pact, and the United Kingdom's adherence to the pact in April was warmly welcomed in Turkey as forging a further bond of alliance between the two countries. M. Menderes furthermore repeatedly referred to the importance which he attached to Britain, as the only Great Power with forces in the area, continuing to take an active part in Middle East defence. The Turkish Government gave unwavering support to Her Majesty's Government's position in Cyprus, maintaining that Britain's occupation of the island was necessary to enable her to carry out her treaty obligations in the Middle East, and that as long as British sovereignty was maintained there was no Cyprus question as far as Turkey was concerned. While uncertainty over the outcome of the discussions between the Governor of Cyprus and Archbishop Makarios, and between Her Majesty's Government and the Greek Government, particularly as regards their effect on the question of self-determination, had, by the end of the year, made the Turkish Government genuinely apprehensive and the Turkish public increasingly restive, the Turkish Government's representations to Her Majesty's Government on the subject remained objective and moderately expressed.

20. In the economic field, an agreement was signed in London on the 17th of January providing for the gradual liquidation of the arrears, originally estimated at £12 million, but probably in excess of this, due to British exporters to Turkey. Owing to administrative difficulties, regular monthly payments did not begin until October; but by the end of the year arrears to the value of almost £1 million had been paid. Turkish exports to the United Kingdom increased slightly; but British exports to Turkey continued to decline. Work began on two important projects guaranteed by Export Credits Guarantee Department to a total value of £14 million —one for a hydro-electric station and the other for the building of four large silos. Although difficulties were experienced over the provision of Turkish currency for the building of the dam, sterling obligations were duly met on both contracts up to the end of the year.

21. I attach a chronological summary of the main events of the year.

I have, &c.

R. J. BOWKER.

Enclosure

Chronological Summary of Events in Turkey during 1955

I.—Internal Affairs

January

2–4 Peoples' Republican Party Assembly. The party decided not to moderate its policy of all-out opposition to the Government.
6 Decree setting up a committee to regulate bank credits (elections to this committee were completed on July 11).
17 Formal inauguration in Istanbul of an Institute of Labour for the Near and Middle East under I.L.O. auspices.

February

12 £6 million contract signed with Simon Handling Engineers, Ltd., for silos.
26 Death of Turkish Ambassador in London, Hüseyin Ragip Baydur.
28 Approval by National Assembly of budget with deficit of £T.150 million.

April

15 Minister for Foreign Affairs, Fuat Köprülü, appointed Minister of State; Prime Minister assumed office of Minister for Foreign Affairs.
24 Ceremonial opening by Prime Minister of the Hirfanli hydro-electric project. (Messrs. Wimpey and English Electric.)
27 1st Congress of " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

May

5 Law 6544 amending statutes of Turkish Central Bank.
18 Adoption of new Rent Law.
18 Adoption of law changing the method of financing the deficit of the Soil Products Office.
20 Adoption of law changing the statutes of the Soil Products Office.
21 National Assembly adjourned till November 1 on note of renewed inter-party bitterness.
26 Law 6571 amending statutes of Central Bank.

End of May

Oil companies began to insist on cash in advance. Temporary petrol shortage in mid-June.

June

10 P.R.P. Opposition Journal *Ulus* reappeared after lapse of eighteen months following confiscation of P.R.P. properties.
28 Increase in Bank Rate from 3 to 4½ per cent.

July

1 Turkey admitted to Transferable Account Area.
3 Government communiqué issued accusing the Opposition of an economic conspiracy against Turkey, and of creating artificial shortages.
5 Law authorising the conversion of the Turkish State Airlines into a non-State enterprise.
8 Decree 4/5404 against hoarding, speculation and profiteering.
28 Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister, Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, appointed Minister of State and acting Foreign Minister.
Professor Fuat Köprülü became Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister.

August

3 Republican National Party announced they would abstain from forthcoming provincial and municipal elections.

August

6 Peoples' Republican Party issued similar announcement.
8 Prime Minister invited journalists on a tour of the major capital development projects to counteract Opposition propaganda about the economic crisis.
13 Arrest of Kasim Gülek, Secretary-General of the P.R.P., charged with implying that the 1954 elections were improperly conducted.
20 Announcement that increased export premia would be granted on a number of crops.
Aug. 20–Sept. 19 International Fair at Izmir.

September

6–7 Anti-Greek rioting in Istanbul and Izmir.
7 Martial law declared in Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara, by Decree No. 4/5843.
Government communiqué on the riots including promise of compensation.
8 " Cyprus is Turkish " Association closed down by court order.
10 Resignation of Minister of the Interior, Namik Gedik; and appointment of Ethem Menderes, Minister of National Defence, as Minister of the Interior, *ad interim*.
12 Extraordinary Session of the National Assembly on the riots, at which the Assembly approved the proclamation of martial law and decided that it should continue in force for six months.
15 Publication of Decree No. 14 on protection of value of Turkish currency.
16 Resignation of Osman Kapani, Minister of State; resignation of Ethem Menderes from post of Minister of National Defence, and appointment as Minister of State; appointment of Fuat Köprülü as Minister of Defence, *ad interim*.
25 Provincial Council elections took place without incident, the Democrat Party being opposed only by the small Peasant Party and some independent candidates.
30 Ethem Menderes, Minister of State, confirmed as Minister of the Interior; Fahrettin Ulaş appointed Minister of State.

October

11 Resignation of Dr. Mükerrem Sarol, Minister of State.
14 Submission of applications for permits to drill for oil.
15 Democrat Party Congress held in Ankara. M. Menderes again elected leader of the party; considerable criticism of the executive council, but M. Menderes' eloquence gained him substantial though not universal support.
23 National Census.
29 Celebration of 32nd Anniversary of the Foundation of the Turkish Republic.

November

1 President Bayar opened the 2nd Session of the 10th National Assembly. His speech was a catalogue of Democrat Party achievements, and on foreign affairs he concentrated mainly on Middle East defence.
11 Opening of new Ankara civil airport at Esenboğa.
13 Municipal elections throughout Turkey. The Democrat Party was opposed by the small Peasant Party and by a considerable number of independents who won 22 per cent. of the seats, to the discomfiture of the Government.
19 Announcement by nineteen Deputies, former members of Democrat Party (who were expelled or resigned immediately before or after the Democrat Party Congress on October 15 for demanding the right of proof in cases of libel) that they would form a new " Freedom " Party as soon as formalities could be completed. Their programme was a series of democratic reforms similar to those which the P.R.P. has been demanding for some time. The group includes several ex-Ministers.

November

29 Resignation of the Cabinet, with the exception of the Prime Minister, as a result of a stormy meeting of the D.P. Parliamentary Group at which violent criticism was made of the Government's economic policy. M. Menderes, at his request, received a personal vote of confidence from the group.

December

1 Formal resignation of the Prime Minister who was then charged by President Bayar with the formation of a new Government.

9 Announcement to National Assembly of M. Adnan Menderes' new Cabinet, including Fuat Köprülü as Minister for Foreign Affairs and nine new Ministers who had not previously held office.

13 Approval (by 343 votes out of 387) by D.P. Parliamentary Group of new Government programme which included some political and administrative concessions to criticism but no basic change in economic policy.

16 Approval (by 398 votes against 58) by National Assembly of new Government programme.

17 Budget for 1956–57 (balanced at £T.3,951,858,957) presented to National Assembly.

19 Bills submitted to National Assembly to re-amend the Electoral Law to its pre-1954 state and to increase the pensionable period for Government officials to thirty years.

19 Martial law lifted in Ankara and Izmir.

19 Minister of State, Şemi Ergin, appointed Acting Minister of National Defence.

20 Decision by D.P. Parliamentary Group for a parliamentary investigation into the activities of M. Zorlu, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister; Hasan Polatkan, formerly Minister of Finance, and Sitki Yircali, former Minister of Economy and Commerce.

21 Formal inauguration of "Freedom Party," with M. Fevzi Lutfi Karaosmanoglu as leader. The founders consisted of thirty-three members, including twenty-nine Deputies, six of whom were ex-Ministers, all former members of the D.P.

II.—Foreign Affairs

January

6–14 Official visits of Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs to Iraq and Lebanon, with talks in Damascus on the return journey.

10–28 Visit of Mufti of Cyprus for consultations with Turkish Ministers.

13 Joint Turco-Iraqi communiqué announcing that a treaty would be concluded for co-operation against aggression.

14–24 Visit of French parliamentary delegation.

17 Signature in London of Anglo-Turkish Agreement on outstanding transfers of sterling arrears amounting to £10 million to £12 million due to British exporters.

27 Turco-Italian Trade Agreement signed in Ankara, followed by the signature in Rome on January 29 of an agreement concerning the grant by Italy to Turkey of a $25 million credit.

Jan 31–Feb. 2 Official visit to Rome of Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

February

7 Establishment in Turkey of Balkan Alliance Secretariat.

8 Turco-Japanese Trade and Payments Agreement signed in Ankara—ratified by Decree No. 4/4642.

16 Law No. 6471 ratifying protocol to admit the Federal Republic of Germany to N.A.T.O.; Law No. 6472 ratifying Balkan Tripartite Alliance of August 10, 1954.

18 Turco-German Trade Agreement concluded in Ankara.

February

Feb. 18–Mar 1 Official visit of President Bayar to Pakistan, returning via Bagdad.

23 Turco-Bulgarian Trade and Payments Agreement signed in Ankara; ratified on March 29 by Decree No. 4/4781.

24 Signature at Bagdad of Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Turkey and Iraq (the Bagdad Pact); ratified on February 26 by Law No. 6496.

Feb. 28–Mar. 3 Meeting in Ankara of Balkan Alliance Council of Foreign Ministers.

March

2 Signature by Balkan Alliance Foreign Ministers of agreement for constitution of Consultative Assembly; ratified by Law No. 6622 on May 21.

9 Public execution at Erzurum of two Russian spies found guilty of espionage in 1953.

19 Syrian note on Bagdad Pact accepted by Foreign Minister and subsequently rejected by Prime Minister.

April

1–10 State visit of President Camille Chamoun and Sami Solh, Prime Minister of Lebanon.

2 Turco-Lebanese Trade Agreement signed.

5 United Kingdom accession to Bagdad Pact.

15 Bagdad Pact came into force on exchange of instruments of ratification

15 Signature of protocol regarding liquidation of commercial arrears due to Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union.

16 Turkish national hanged in Ankara for espionage for Russia.

22 Signature in Washington of Turco-American Loan Agreement for loan of $20 million.

22–30 Visit of Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation.

28 Signature of agreement concerning trade with East Germany.

29 United States Government signed agreement regarding supply of 100,000 tons of bread grain to Turkey.

30 Visit of party from Canadian National Defence College.

May

3 Turco-American agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy concluded.

5–9 Official visit by Prime Minister to Yugoslavia.

8 Signature of two protocols concerning trade with Yugoslavia.

26–28 Official visit to Istanbul of units of the Mediterranean Fleet. Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, C.-in-C., Mediterranean, received by President Bayar.

June

2 Private visit by Nuri al Said, Prime Minister of Iraq.

6–18 Visit of Iraqi military delegation, headed by Chief of Staff.

11 Announcement of an additional $30 million of American economic aid to Turkey under the F.O.A. allocation for the year ending June 30, 1955—the only result of M. Zorlu's visit to the United States to seek a loan of $300 million.

16–23 Official visit of President Bayar to Lebanon.

19–30 Visit of Pakistani Minister of Defence and Secretary to External Affairs Department.

June 26–July 5 State visit by King Faisal II of Iraq.

30 Expiration of Anglo-Turkish Trade and Payments Agreement of May 4, 1955.

30 Turkish (and Greek) Government invited to confer with Her Majesty's Government in London on Eastern Mediterranean problems including Cyprus.

July

2 Acceptance by Turkish Government of invitation to London Conference.
4–8 Visit of C.I.G.S., Field-Marshal Sir John Harding; received by President Bayar.
9–13 Official visit of Sardar Naim Khan, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.
26 Signature of protocol regarding liquidation of arrears due to Netherlands.
29 Exchange of letters between German Ambassador and Minister for Foreign Affairs to give effect to long-term agreement on the sale of cereals to the Federal German Republic, signed in 1953.

August

24 Statement on Cyprus by Prime Minister on eve of departure of Turkish delegation for London Conference.
Aug. 24–Sept. 5 Visit of Jordanian Minister of Defence.
Aug. 29–Sept. 7 London Conference on Cyprus.

September

9 Arrival of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Istanbul for Commonwealth Consultations prior to the 10th Annual Meeting of the International Bank and Monetary Fund.
12 First joint session of 10th Annual Fund and bank meeting.
12–16 Visit of party from Imperial Defence College.
14 Statement by Chancellor of Exchequer on the Annual Report of the Fund, on the maintenance of the value of sterling and the approach to convertibility.
19 State visit by President Bayar to Tehran.
21 Exchange of messages between Mr. Dulles, United States Secretary of State, and the Prime Minister regarding Turco-Greek relations.
23 Pakistan accession to the Bagdad Pact.
28 Visit of Mr. Thomas Dewey, ex-Governor of New York.

October

5 First payment for the settlement in chronological order of United Kingdom commercial arrears.
11 Iranian accession to the Bagdad Pact.
24 Flag-raising ceremony in Izmir to make moral amends for the anti-Greek riots.
Oct. 25–Nov. 3 Official visit of Herr Blank, Federal German Minister of Defence, and General Heusinger, Chief of Staff.

November

3–8 State visit by President Bayar to Jordan.
20 Departure of Turkish delegation, led by Prime Minister, for Bagdad Pact Council meeting in Bagdad; returned on November 24.
Nov. 29–Dec. 8 Visit of Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Organisation.
30 Visit of Signor Cassiani, Italian Minister of Marine Commerce.

December

13 M. Birgi, Secretary-General at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, left Turkey to attend N.A.T.O. Ministerial Meeting in Paris as Turkish representative. Returned on December 19.
19 Lifting of the ban on press comment on Cyprus and Turco-Greek relations, following the raising of martial law in Ankara and Izmir.

CRL 1443/1

No. 2

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY DURING RECENT YEARS

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received January 28*)

(No. 11. Confidential)

Ankara,
January 24, 1956.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the subject of Islam in Turkey, which is normally seldom mentioned in the press, was given its routine annual airing on the 7th January when the budget of the Religious Affairs Department was discussed by the Budget Committee of the National Assembly. Comment on this year's discussion was, however, completely overshadowed by the fact that the Prime Minister in a speech at Konya on the same day decided to define the principle of laicism as applied to the present-day Turkey and to announce his belief in the value of introducing religious instruction in secondary schools. This speech aroused a storm of criticism from the Opposition press.

2. In the Budget Committee's discussion, the main criticism of the Government's religious policy was that the Department of Religious Affairs confined its activities to routine work and to the publication of routine religious pamphlets; and that it had failed in its main task of training men of religion with rational ideas to replace the narrow-minded and ignorant Imams. The Government spokesman defended the work of the department and claimed that it was handicapped in the performance of its duties by the lack of qualified religious workers; this was illustrated by the fact that only three out of 365 graduates from the divinity faculty of the university had joined the ranks of the department. Eventually, the committee approved a budget of £T.18 million for the department, an increase of £T.3 million on last year's figure.

3. There is in fact a great deal of truth in the criticisms directed at the Religious Affairs Department. The standard of their publications is low and lamentably stereotyped; and there is little doubt that the department is at odds with the divinity faculty of the university. A senior official at the Ministry of Education expressed the view recently that the divinity faculty included plenty of progressive thinkers who were alive to the necessity of rationalising Islam in Turkey. But they were reluctant to work with the officials of the Religious Affairs Department who were said to be narrow-minded reactionaries simply propounding in a dull and uninspiring way the old Islamic teachings.

4. The issues raised at the committee's discussion were, however, swamped by the reaction to the Prime Minister's Konya speech. In this speech, M. Menderes first defined laicism (reasonably enough), as being the absolute separation of religion from politics together with complete freedom of religious conscience. The Turkish nation was Moslem and would remain so. The principles and creeds of Islam must, therefore, be taught to the children of the country and he believed that it would be desirable to institute religious instruction in secondary schools. Further efforts would also be made to train properly qualified religious teachers, and the salaries of Imams and preachers would be raised from their present extremely low level.

5. Islam is always a sensitive subject in Turkey and the Prime Minister's speech naturally gave rise to much criticism. He was accused of breaking the constitution by associating religion with politics, of grasping at another straw to divert the people's attention from the economic crisis in order to regain his position, and of dealing a blow at one of the outstanding principles of the Atatürk revolution.

6. It is in fact difficult to understand why the Prime Minister chose the particular time and place for such a speech which was utterly out of the context of the other speeches he made in his recent provincial tour. It may have been that he wished to please the people of Konya, who are noted for their religious fervour, and to show gratitude for the welcome that they gave him. At the same time, he may have wished to make up in an indirect way for the fact that he had announced on the previous day that a district of the Konya Vilayet (Akşehir) was to become a new and separate Vilayet. It may be that he did wish to exploit religion in order to regain his personal position. But it is equally possible that

the Prime Minister was merely expounding for no ulterior motive the Democrat Party policy towards Islam, in which the introduction of religious instruction into secondary schools would be a rational and defensible step. This was the view expressed in conversations with a member of my staff by the Minister of State Industries (who is known for his interest in religion) and by a leading Democrat Deputy and journalist. If this is so, it is however, slightly difficult to reconcile it with the fact that the Minister of Education, when asked by a journalist the next day whether it was true that religious lessons were to be added to the curriculum of secondary schools, said that they were not. Thereupon, the reporter showed him the account of the Prime Minister's speech on the previous day, but the Minister still denied any such intention; the following day he had to publish a hasty correction of his previous statement to bring himself into line with the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, the incident is not quite as absurd as it seems, for it is characteristic of present-day Turkish politics that the Prime Minister should make an announcement of this kind on the spur of the moment, which had not been properly discussed by the Cabinet, but was nevertheless in accordance with their general policy. It is notable that this embassy has not heard any criticism of the statement from within the Democrat Party and it may be added that many intelligent supporters of the Opposition are in favour of religious instruction in schools, although they censure the Prime Minister's method of announcing the proposal.

7. In the light of this incident of which we may not have heard the last, it is perhaps worth commenting on the religious developments in Turkey during recent years.

8. When the Democrat Party came to power in 1950 it was their declared policy to free, if not to encourage, religious practice within the framework of the secular State. The process has been a continuous one. The budget of the Religious Affairs Department has risen from £T.3 million in 1950 to its present figure of £T.18 million for 1956; new mosques and minarets are rising everywhere, paid for partly by the State and partly also by local contributions. All who know Turkey have noticed other signs of a revival of Islam, although some say that this revival in fact started in the late twenties after the first enthusiasm for the reforms had died away. A return to the veil in many parts of the country, an increase in the numbers of young people keeping Ramadan, violent prejudice against a man sitting down with his wife in a restaurant; religious texts and mottoes in cafes and restaurants or on lorries and buses, and an open return to the Arabic script and pride in its knowledge, are some among many. They have little importance individually but they seem to have increased markedly since the Democrat Party "took the lid" off Islam in 1950. Together they are perhaps little more than the signs that a Turk would see of Christianity in England but they represent a real return to the past. Many intelligent Turks are also sceptical of the Kemalist creed of going back for their culture to pre-Islamic days and are ready to admit that Ottoman culture with its Islamic overtones is their true heritage.

9. It is known moreover that in some parts of the country a sect of fanatics in the strict sense of the word is still alive. The dervish sect of the Ticani are devoted to a complete return to the old Moslem traditions and ready like holy warriors to use violence in pursuit of their aim. They are legally banned but, nevertheless, continue. In August last, the press denounced their influence in Tokat in central Anatolia; from time to time they are heard of in other regions and may well have members in the big towns; and the view has been expressed that the attempt to put the Ticani down had completely failed and that they were as strong as ever. In a similar although less militant connection, there is no doubt that affection for the now defunct Mevlevi dervish sect of Konya still persists. A member of my staff who attended the annual ceremonies commemorating the death of the founder of the sect, was struck by the extreme fervour shown by the pilgrims to the shrine, who were drawn from all parts of the country and from all walks of life. The ceremonies are Government sponsored and it is perhaps significant that the Government have now decided to make them a quinquennial, not an annual affair.

10. In addition to these obvious signs of religious revival, the Christian communities of Izmir and Istanbul are disposed to believe that the destruction of churches and the desecration of graveyards during the riots of September last was principally due to an outburst of fanatical Mohammedanism of which they

say there have been warning signals for some time past. (I do not share this belief for reasons which have been given in reports from this embassy during past months; though the riots did provide an outlet for the anti-Christian fanaticism which has been largely suppressed or lain dormant for the past thirty years and have possibly led to more open and conscious anti-Christian feeling.)

11. While recognising that there are still centres of religious reaction in Turkey, particularly among the larger landowners in the south and in some of the smaller and more remote towns, some progressive Turks point to the fact that the traditionally conservative and reactionary tendencies of the Turkish peasant are being steadily weakened by the greater material prosperity of the farmers and the advent of roads and buses. Though they acknowledge that religion must eventually be put in its proper place in the New Turkey, these persons hold that the natural process of mental evolution should be allowed to continue its work before the problem becomes ripe to be tackled by the Government, and that an attempt at this stage to impose a comprehensive programme of religious education would stir up emotional prejudices which were better left undisturbed.

12. It must clearly be the concern of the Democrat Party, who have freed Islam as a matter of policy, to control its revival and to ensure that it is kept within proper limits in accordance with the concept of a secular State. As indicated by the observations on the Department of Religious Affairs, in paragraph 3 their efforts so far have been haphazard and badly co-ordinated. Their most constructive step—the formation of schools to train a new cadre of progressive Imams and preachers to replace the old reactionary village Imams—although laudable, is in danger of foundering through lack of funds and its good results have not yet seriously been felt. It is also unfortunate from this point of view that the Government have in many ways antagonised the young intellectuals who are the most stern opponents of religious reaction but who have the intelligence to approach the problem of Islam in a rational way.

13. This hesitant policy no doubt reflects the existing conflict of views on the subject. It remains to be seen whether the Prime Minister's remarks about religious education at Konya really mean that the Government have now decided to grapple seriously with the problem, or whether, as is more likely, they were simply part of his present efforts to re-establish his popularity in the country. It is impossible at this stage to attempt a long-term forecast of the development of this issue, which remains one of the major issues in Turkey, as it was when Sir Knox Helm wrote his farewell despatch No. 2 in 1954. But the fact that religion has come again to the foreground of public discussion may well force the Government to give serious thought to a problem on which their policy has hitherto been largely opportunist.

I have, &c.

R. J. BOWKER.

RK 101105 No. 3

REPORT BY THE TURKISH MARTIAL LAW COMMAND ON THE INVESTIGATIONS FOLLOWING THE RIOTS OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1955

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 25)

(No. 34. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *February 21, 1956.*

I have the honour to report that the Martial Law Command have completed their investigations into the causes of and the people responsible for the riots in Istanbul of September last; and I enclose a summarised translation of their report (Annex I) on the strength of which 17 people (Annex II) are standing trial on various counts. The trial, which is being held *in camera*, began on 13th of February.

2. You will see from Annex I that the blame for the riots has been laid on the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association and to a lesser extent on the Turkish National Students' Federation; and that the Secretary-General of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association, Kamil Onal, is accused of being the main ringleader, even to the partial exclusion of the President of the Association, Hikmet Bil. The original official version that the Communists were to blame has been dropped, presumably through lack of any corroboration, although the report makes the most it can out of Communist participation in the riots and their interference in the Cyprus problem generally, and underlines the Communist contacts of Kamil Onal himself.

3. The report studiously avoids any mention of governmental responsibility or negligence and of the extent to which Hikmet Bil and the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association received official encouragement prior to the events; and the only mention of the part played by the local authorities is in the rather obscure phrase translated verbatim in paragraph 14 of Annex I. The report does not explain the implications of this phrase.

4. Equally no attempt has been made to explain the high degree of organisation of the rioting, demonstrated by the methodical way in which the destruction was carried out (paragraph 13 of Mr. Stewart's despatch No. 193 of the 22nd of September, 1955). The question asked in paragraph 14 of this despatch still therefore remains unanswered and since the trial of the accused is being held *in camera*, it is unlikely that we shall receive further official enlightenment. It is of course possible that the Opposition may challenge the report hotly when it comes up for debate in the National Assembly, to try to force the Government to reveal more of the facts. But it is strange in this context that the Opposition Press have so far failed to comment at all on the report, although they have had plenty of time in which to do so.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's representatives at Athens, Belgrade and Washington and to the Political Office, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

Enclosure 1

ANNEX I

SUMMARY OF THE RECENT REPORT PUBLISHED ON FEBRUARY 11, BY THE MARTIAL LAW COMMAND IN SUPPORT OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THE PERSONS ACCUSED (ANNEX II) IN CONNEXION WITH THE RIOTS IN ISTANBUL ON SEPTEMBER 6-7

The report begins with a summary of the history of Cyprus from ancient Egyptian times up to and including the London Conference of August 1955. This historical summary stresses the part played in the recent history of the Island by the Cominform and by the Cyprus Communist Party, and letters from the Turkish Communist poet Nazim Hikmet to the Turkish Labour Union in Nicosia in 1953 are quoted. It is stated that the Cominform has for many years used the Cyprus problem as a means for creating political and military discord between the Turks, Greeks and British.

2. There follows a long dissertation, in connexion with the interest and sympathy for the Turks in the Island, shown by Turkish youth and the Turkish Press, on the activities and publications of the Turkish National Students Federation and in particular the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association. The birth of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association and its growth through the " Cyprus is Turkish " Committee to full Association status on the 2nd of October, 1954, is described.

3. Most of the accused are mentioned by name in connexion with the Association but the accent is laid on Kamil Onal, the Secretary-General. His life is traced in minute detail through his school days, his work in Government service and as a journalist and in the National Security Department. This latter brought him into contact with a number of Communists and the report comments in parenthesis that he always concealed from the authorities his personal contacts with Communists and Left-wing sympathisers of his acquaintance.

4. There then follows a detailed discussion on Kamil Onal's and to a lesser extent, Hikmet Bil's activities; their journeys to London, to Cyprus and through Anatolia on behalf of the Association; their contacts with the Cypriot-Turkish leaders, their, and especially Kamil Onal's, inflammatory speeches at various times; and their activities in the setting up of regional branches of the Association.

5. Eventually the report comes to the events of the 4th of September, 1955. Hikmet Bil is said to have telephoned Kamil Onal and to have told him that they should burn a number of anti-Turkish Greek newspapers in Taksim Square, and that he (Hikmet Bil) would inform the newspaper *Hurriyet* to make such that reporters were there to take photographs. Hüsamettin Can Ozturk telephoned the newspapers *Vatan* and *Milliyet* similarly and Kamil Onal gave a pile of newspapers to Hurşit Şahsuvar and to Gündüz Gölünü telling them to burn them at the statue in Taksim Square. Kamil and others subsequently went to Taksim Square where they met the rest of the party and the incident began. At that time Hurşit and Gündüz were arrested by a policeman and taken to the Taksim Police Station.

6. The report concludes that this incident alone was an act calculated to disturb the peace.

7. A description is then given of how the Association had in its possession posters showing the Turkish flag and the island of Cyprus, which had been printed a long time ago. Although no new posters had been ordered for many months, Kamil Onal ordered 15–20,000 in the last week of August 1955. In view of the fact that from the 4th of September onwards these posters were found in great quantities all over Istanbul it could not be accepted that this large order was given by chance.

8. At the same time the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association in Izmir held a private meeting and speeches were made calculated to provoke hostile action against the Greek Government. The Association also arranged a meeting for the 26th of August, but, since permission was not given by the authorities, they made speeches of the same kind to people gathered in the streets. Mention is also made of an article in the Izmir paper *Grece Postasi* of the 3rd of September asking why the Greek flag was still flying on the Greek pavilion, &c.

9. The report then turns to the day of the riots. Kamil Onal saw the Salonika bomb incident as an opportunity for stirring up new trouble and made an inflammatory statement to the Press, which appeared in the *Istanbul Ekspres* of the 6th of September, and which was printed, for the first time in the history of the paper, in extremely large type.

10. On the same day Kamil Onal, Konuralp, Hikmet Kon and others, went round Istanbul in taxis distributing great quantities of the " Cyprus is Turkish " poster and at the same time shouting provocative slogans to the people in the streets. They then returned to the Headquarters of the Students Federation where Kamil Onal appeared at the window and incited the passers-by.

11. In conjunction with the Turkish Students' Federation the Association then published a provocative statement which appeared in certain of the Instanbul papers on the 7th of September.

12. A description follows of the course of the riots in Istanbul and, very briefly, in Izmir and of how the rioters were all carrying " Cyprus is Turkish " posters and copies of the Istanbul *Ekspres* and shouting " Cyprus is Turkish " slogans; and it is mentioned how people who had served sentences for Communism or who were under suspicion of Communism, joined the rioters and incited them further.

13. A description of various incidents follows also implicating members of the Students' Federation for inciting the rioters.

14. All this time Kamil Onal was at the Federation Headquarters. Hikmet Bil got in touch with him and they both set out, with other of their followers, through the town. At one point Hikmet Bil tried to address a crowd of rioters but without success. A detailed description is given of their journey and of Hikmet Bil's visit to the Vilayet where he thought of offering to broadcast to the people in the name of the Association to quieten them down. But " realising that his suggestion would be futile in view of the sight he saw at the vilayet " he left and subsequently they all returned to their homes. It is then described how the Kadiköy branch leader of the Association went round the town with posters and flags stirring up the rioters and how various other branch leaders did the same in their particular quarters.

15. There follows a description of how, in view of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association's activities during and before the riots, the Association was closed down and the leaders arrested. Nevertheless, Kamil Onal apparently managed to get messages to various people to burn certain papers at the Association's Headquarters, which he did not wish to fall into the hands of the police. Certain of the accused managed to break the official seal on the building, and these papers were burnt before they could be seized.

16. The report ends with a list of the number of people arrested in connexion with the riots on various charges, which included 67 known or suspected Communists of whom 26 were proved to have taken an active part in the riots.

Enclosure 2

ANNEX II

PERSONS ACCUSED IN CONNEXION WITH THE RIOTS OF SEPTEMBER 6–7, 1955

Charged with indulging in hostile activities directed against a foreign country and of instigating people to commit crimes:—

KAMIL ONAL.—Secretary-General of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

MURŞIT YOLGEÇEN.—Student at the reserve officers' school.

SARAFIM SAGLAMER.—Head of the Kadiköy branch of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

OSMAN TAN.—Head of the Sariyer branch of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

EROL DEMIRCIOGLU.—Student at the Haydarpaşalycée.

MUSTAFA EROGLU.—Furniture dealer.

2. Charged with indulging in hostile activities against a foreign country:—

HIKMET BIL.—President of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

HÜSAMETTIN CANÖZTÜRK.—President of the Turkish National Students' Federation.

ORHAN BIRGIT.—Member of the Executive Council of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

NEDIN ÜSDIKEN.—Member of the Executive Council of the " Cyprus is Turkish " Association.

AYDIN KONURALP.—Member of the Ankara branch of the Association (also charged with breaking an official seal).

HURŞIT ŞAHSUVAR.—Student (also charged with criminal activties).

GÜNDÜZ GÖLÖN.—Student.

3. Charged with criminal activities:—

ÖZTÜRK CANÖZTÜRK.—Student (also charged with breaking an official seal).

ISMAIL TÜRKER.—Doorkeeper at the Turkish National Students' Federation.

4. Charged with disseminating exaggerated reports calculated to cause alarm and excitement:—

VEDAT PEKGIRGIN.—Sub-editor of *Istanbul Ekspres*.

GÖKSIN SIPATRIOGLU.—Member of the editorial staff.

RK 1022/2 No. 4

TURKEY: ANNUAL REVIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received March 10*)

(No. 40. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *March 5, 1956.*

I have the honour to inform you that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Professor Fuat Köprülü, made the customary general review of Turkey's foreign policy at the end of the Grand National Assembly debate on the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 25th of February.

2. As he did last year (my despatch No. 48 of the 7th of March, 1955) Professor Köprülü began with an analysis of world events as seen from the Turkish point of view, with particular reference to the cold war.

3. He mentioned the existing tension in international relations and the failure both of the efforts made by the free nations to end the cold war and of the Geneva Conference. These failures showed that there had been no change in Communist policy. In fact the Communists were trying to cause the collapse of countries by methods adapted to the particular conditions of each and they were exploiting every dispute to cause a rift between Europe and Asia.

4. Hope for the establishment of true peace should not however be abandoned and it was imperative to continue negotiations with the opposite camp. Such negotiations could only succeed if the meetings could be kept from being used by the Communists as a means of propaganda to sow discord among the free nations, and if the free nations united their strength to a point where they could successfully defend themselves by armed force.

5. By propaganda, the Communists had created an atmosphere of relaxation, but they were really concentrating all their activities on making the free world unprepared and divided. Their principal objective was to undermine existing collective security organisations and to prevent the establishment of new organisations. They were employing all possible means to this end, from pressure and warnings to attempts at friendly and benevolent activities always keeping in view the peculiar circumstances of each country. This was a dangerous aspect of the cold war. The view predominated among certain free nations that the collective security organisations in the free world were military and ideological *blocs* leading the opposite camp to believe that it was living under a threat. Propaganda was being spread that there was no need for the free nations to augment their military strength and that military organisations should give way to social and economic arrangements and to political agreements designed to eliminate suspicion. The trends towards neutrality and the establishment of a third *bloc* were products of these considerations.

6. These trends were misleading; the relaxation was only artificial and tactical; the apparent balance of power was merely superficial and temporary and the security organisations of the free world were not ideological *blocs* but defences against ideological warfare from the other side.

7. Although economic, social and political matters were important, they must not be pursued at the expense of military power. If it was true that the dangers of a world war had receded this was due to the establishment and application of the collective security systems in the free world.

8. Some countries were being faced with proposals for bilateral friendship from the Communist side. Every country would receive these with satisfaction; and Turkey herself would like to take the initiative. But the development of such bilateral relations beyond that of correct neighbourly relations depended on evidence of the abandonment of the policy which was keeping the free world in a state of anxiety. The facts remained unchanged; and it was impossible not to suspect such attempts to establish bilateral agreements of being endeavours to weaken and divide the free world. It was vitally necessary not to neglect realism and caution.

9. The principle of collective security embodied in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter continued to form one of the bases of Turkey's foreign policy. The Government would defend this principle everywhere. Turkey was bound in all sincerity to the United Nations, to N.A.T.O. and to the Bagdad and Balkan Pacts. She attributed great importance to her membership in the Council of Europe and the economic organisations of Europe.

10. Professor Köprülü then turned to more detailed aspects of Turkey's foreign policy.

11. *The United Nations.*—After a deprecatory reference to the compromise formula adopted for the admission of new members last year, he said that the Turkish Government were in favour of moulding the United Nations Charter into a more perfect form and of finding a solution to the veto principle. The main factor, however, for making the United Nations more effective was not so much Charter amendment, but change in the mentality of certain groups of member States who used the United Nations as a rostrum for political activity and propaganda to realise their own ends.

12. After a complimentary reference to the United Nations Atomic Energy Agency, he said that the Turkish Government, which signed the first Atomic Reactor Agreement with the United States, heartily supported all enterprises aimed at the development and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and that they hoped to benefit from them. He then referred appreciatively to the decision of the Bagdad Pact Economic Committee to establish an atomic energy training centre through which the British Government would make available certain facilities, information and equipment to member States. He also mentioned the decision to set up an Atomic Energy Research Centre and an Atomic Energy Organisation of Europe, saying that Turkey was participating in all these activities. He deprecated the decision of the Brussels Agreement countries to form a co-operative group amongst themselves and suggested that such an arrangement would be better taken in hand by the Council of Europe or by O.E.E.C.

13. The International Co-operation Administration had allocated 40,000 dollars for 1955–56 to the training of Turkish atomic scientists in the United States. Four Turkish scientists had already been sent to America and six more would soon be going. It might be possible to send two scientists to England for training under the Bagdad Pact decision.

14. Turning to the work of the Security Council, he mentioned the Arab-Israel problem, and defended Turkey's policy in the Security Council. This policy had received the thanks of the Arab representatives, but those wishing to embroil Turkey with the Arab countries had distorted the truth and attributed to the Turkish delegate unfriendly statements about the Arab nations and the Palestine refugees.

15. *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.*—Professor Köprülü praised the purpose and role of N.A.T.O., saying that Turkey was fully attached to the alliance in all its aspects, military, political, economic and social. He referred with satisfaction to the entry of the Federal German Republic into N.A.T.O. Turkey was contributing to the limit of her capabilities towards the improvement qualitatively and quantitatively of N.A.T.O.'s military strength. She had adopted the principle of bearing all sacrifices on a reasonably large scale for the sake of raising to a high level of perfection her military strength. He then referred in some detail to the infrastructure programme and to American aid in connection with off-shore orders.

16. The decision taken at the North Atlantic Council's ministerial meeting last December for the proper application of article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty was important. He suggested that it would be advantageous if N.A.T.O. took up the economic questions left outside the scope of E.P.U. and O.E.E.C.

17. *The Bagdad Pact.*—Professor Köprülü reviewed, as an earnest of the pact's progress, the work done so far by the Permanent Council and by the various committees. He emphasised the significance of the support of the United Nations for the pact.

18. The Bagdad Pact had become a target for attacks from those who were converting peace into a cold war. These attacks were the manifestations in the

Middle East of a world-wide campaign waged against the solidarity and defence of the free world. Their principal purpose was to leave the Middle East confused, defenceless, unstable and in political and economic difficulties. Since the Bagdad Pact was the most effective remedy to such difficulties, these attacks would no doubt continue to increase in vehemence. Nevertheless the Bagdad Pact had raised interest and understanding in non-member countries in the Middle East, deeper and wider than the outward manifestations.

19. Turkey was devoted to the aims and interests of the Middle East, without bringing pressure on anyone or interfering in other people's affairs. Turkey had not stipulated the adherence of any of the Arab States to the Bagdad Pact as a condition of friendship. It was for the countries concerned to estimate the advantages to be derived from adherence or the losses to be sustained by non-adherence.

20. The Bagdad Pact was not directed against any particular State or States; nor was it directed against the Arab League. The Turkish Government had manifested in deeds the high esteem in which they held the League. Turkey's sincerity and good faith were self-evident. Although the effect produced by malicious propaganda against Turkey in certain friendly Arab countries had grieved the Government, they were convinced that ways and means could be found for establishing friendship and co-operation. Turkey and the Arab countries were linked together by lasting and fundamental ties and by ties of a traditional and sentimental nature. The Government rejoiced in extending the hand of friendship to the Arab countries.

21. *Arab-Israel.*—After stressing the importance and gravity of this problem, Professor Köprülü said that the Turkish Government would continue to do their best for a solution within the framework of the Bagdad Pact and on the lines of the exchange of letters with Iraq or Palestine. The most promising way of solving the problem seemed to be to take up the minor differences of opinion one at a time and gradually to progress to the issues of greater importance. The solution of the problem was becoming more and more vital in view of its exploitation by Communist propaganda. Solutions must be found for the refugee problem and for the question of compensation. The Government believed that it would be beneficial in working for a solution if the practice of making public statements was replaced for the time being by diplomatic contacts between responsible representatives. Well-meant public statements were twisted and misinterpreted by the forces of evil. All parties concerned should work to separate and simplify the problems as far as possible.

22. *The Balkan Pact.*—Professor Köprülü commented on the rumours and speculations about the extent to which the pact retained its vitality and effectiveness. The pact was born of certain permanent vital needs and was the work of three States determined to defend their independence and territorial integrity and convinced of the necessity of co-operation for this purpose. None of the considerations had changed. The Balkan Pact had, by its conclusion, rendered great services to the cause of peace. Its benefits were still considerable although not so conspicuous as they had been at the beginning. The Government were working with all their strength to ensure that the Balkan Pact would not merely be honoured posthumously. They were avoiding any act that might be detrimental to the interests or prestige of the pact and it was their duty to warn those who might act otherwise.

23. Yugoslavia, who held certain opinions, not shared by Turkey, against pacts, had always declared that the Balkan Pact was one of the foundations of her foreign policy.

24. The Greek refusal to attend the meeting of the Permanent Council had been harmful to the pact, yet the Turkish Government thought that this was due to lack of a sufficient realisation of the value and importance of the pact. They recalled that the Greek Government had shown the same lack of attention to their obligations to N.A.T.O. by refusing to participate in the manoeuvres in Turkey.

25. *Turco-Greek Relations and Cyprus.*—It was possible, in view of the actions of the Greek Government and press, to strike a bitter note on this question, but he would be moderate. The tension in Turco-Greek relations originated in the Cyprus problem. The Greek attitude towards the riots of the 6th and 7th of September and to the Salonika bomb incident was designed to further the

annexation of Cyprus to Greece by swamping the Turkish thesis. Their purpose was to place Turkey in the eyes of world opinion in a situation where she would be in no position to say a word on the Cyprus question.

26. Both the Greek Government and Opposition had exploited the situation as an electioneering issue and had thus damaged Greece's international commitments—N.A.T.O. and the Balkan Pact—and, in relation to the Salonika incident, the prestige of the Greek State.

27. The decisions and measures taken by the Turkish Government to repair the material and moral damages of the incidents of the 6th and 7th of September had deprived Greek propaganda of a valuable weapon. With the enactment of the compensation law everything that could have been done by any dignified State conscious of its obligations would have been done. He then referred scathingly to the proceedings over the Salonika incident, saying that they had been rejected by the Prosecutor-General of the Court of Appeal on legal grounds. The Turkish Government had been careful not to interfere in Greek internal affairs and hoped that the Greek Government would get themselves out of the situation they had created in a manner worthy of a law-abiding State.

28. He then outlined the Turkish thesis on Cyprus in familiar terms, claiming that the international status of Cyprus was established by the Treaty of Lausanne and that any modification of that status would entail modification of other provisions of the treaty; and saying that in the unlikely event of a change in the island's status it was only natural that it should revert to Turkey; that the true aim of the Greek thesis was Enosis; that self-determination should never be applicable to Cyprus; and that attempts to aggravate the artificially-invented Cyprus problem might give rise to unpredictably grave consequences.

29. He mentioned the London Conference and the rejection of the London proposals by the Turkish and Greek Governments. The Turkish Government had rejected the proposals on the grounds that, so long as the Greeks persisted in self-determination as a pretext for annexing the island, and so long as terrorism and antagonism among the island communities remained, self-government would only result in further deterioration of the situation both in the island and internationally. Even if matters were to improve so as to make self-government possible, it could be applicable only if the Turkish community were provided, as in other confederation systems, with the same rights and opportunities in the administration as those enjoyed by the other community.

30. The present negotiations in Cyprus were connected with the granting of local autonomy on lines suggested by the British at the London Conference. The purpose of his recent statement to the Anatolian Agency, made in view of the justified anxiety which was felt in the country, was to indicate that the Turkish Government had been kept informed of what was happening, to give as much information as possible, and to make it clear that the Turkish position remained unchanged.

31. The Turkish Government had never suspected that the British Government had acted with evil intentions towards them. Their fears arose from the fact that, in view of pressure brought to bear by the British Opposition and of the attitude adopted by "some friends capable of exerting influence on world events," the British Government had embarked upon a delicate experiment beset with danger, which might lead to far more important complications.

32. The situation in Cyprus could easily get out of control. Even Makarios was exposed to the danger of becoming a Communist plaything. Demagogy was rife; and self-determination and anti-colonialism were being exploited in this problem which was only a "Megalo Idea" from the Greek point of view. Talk of self-determination for Cyprus was sheer demagogy.

33. Although Cyprus was a colony and Turkey had always condemned colonialism, the Government would not allow this to be exploited for political ends. The fact of Cyprus being a colony could not justify Enosis. It could at most justify gradual constitutional development suitable to the level of its people and within the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne. At present only the Turkish community could openly and courageously express their opinion in the atmosphere of terrorism and pressure prevailing. Cyprus could not, like Malta, claim an identity of wishes. Were it not for Turkey's profound misgivings at the grave

situation, he would describe the spectacle presented by the Cyprus problem to-day as ridiculous.

34. The Government were following the developments of the question closely, calling attention to unescapable consequences where necessary. The Government's actions would absolve them from any responsibility if any unpleasant development occurred.

35. Reverting to Turco-Greek relations, Professor Köprülü expressed the hope that differences would soon be relegated to the past, since friendship between Turkey and Greece was to-day more than ever necessary. The new Greek Government would be able to tackle the matters in hand with a new and constructive mentality.

36. *European Integration.*—Professor Köprülü stressed Turkey's interest in her membership of the Council of Europe, European Payments Union and O.E.E.C. Turkey should become an active member of the European Union to be able to carry out her historic duty as a connecting link between Europe and Asia. The Government were therefore following with keen interest the question of European integration.

37. He spoke of the inconsistency of the concept of "Little Europe," but with approval of the European Coal and Steel Union and of similar Organisations, provided that they were linked with the Council of Europe; he excepted the revised Brussels Agreement which owed its existence to other reasons. The multiplication of such Organisations would in any case be undesirable. The Government were therefore in favour of the European Atomic Union within the framework of O.E.E.C. or of the Council of Europe.

38. The Government had decided to reinforce their Consulate at Strasbourg, which represented them at the Council of Europe.

39. *Foreign Trade Relations.*—Professor Köprülü reviewed the increase in Turkey's foreign trade agreements, mentioning that agreements were negotiated in 1955 with Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Belgium, France, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia; and that it had been possible to obtain from some of these countries new short-term and medium-term credits.

40. The Government had also been making efforts to extend the existing system of agreements to their Near Eastern and Middle Eastern neighbours. They had decided to enter into negotiations on transit transport and economic co-operation with Iran.

41. *American Aid.*—After quoting in detail the figures of American aid so far obtained by Turkey, Professor Köprülü said that the total amount of economic aid for 1955–56 would be definitely known in June. Nevertheless 37,500,000 dollars had already been allocated on account, for State and market requirements. A technical aid programme of 2,060,000 dollars had also been approved for the same period.

42. After an appreciative reference to the aid given by Canada in providing jet fighter aircraft and pilot training, he concluded by expressing the Government's appreciation of the full value of the aid given to them, and by saying that if they asked for more aid this was because of their enthusiasm to serve the imperative needs of the free world. In asking for further aid they were exercising great care to keep in mind the resources of those who were capable of giving such aid and to ensure that what they asked for was reasonable and intended for a definite purpose.

43. Professor Köprülü's speech came at the end of the debate which had continued throughout the day. Earlier, various Opposition spokesmen had mentioned the Cyprus problem and had to a certain extent criticised the Government's policy. The People's Republican Party spokesman said little, but the Republican National Party spokesman criticised the Turkish Government for having attended the London Conference, on the grounds that they had thus recognised Greece's right to a voice in the problem. An Independent Deputy suggested that the solution of the question could be achieved by partition, the northern shores being given to Turkey and the southern part of the Island to Greece.

44. Certain Democrat Party Deputies spoke critically of Greece; and the remark that Cyprus was an inseparable part of the motherland brought the first applause of the day from the Assembly. The debate was enlivened in its later stages by a violent attack by a Freedom Party spokesman on the previous Foreign Minister, M. Zorlu. He criticised his conduct towards foreign Ambassadors in Ankara, his handling of the Washington economic talks last summer, and his conduct at the Bandoeng Conference. At one stage in his attack there was general confusion and uproar in the Assembly. He went on to criticise the Government for having failed to counter Greek exploitation of the Istanbul riots, saying that the majority of the American press was now pro-Greek, as were the Arab countries and Yugoslavia.

45. M. Zorlu replied to this speech and defended himself against the various attacks. On the Cyprus problem he attacked Greece in violent terms, including a vague threat of arms in the event of her trying to take over Cyprus. M. Zorlu received warm approbation from the Assembly and his attacks on Greece were particularly well received.

46. By the time Professor Köprülü began his statement, interest in the debate had flagged and his speech was followed by little more than 100 Deputies. Nevertheless his speech, although long, was full of good sense, and moderate in regard to almost all the controversial issues. The passage about the cold war and N.A.T.O. confirmed Turkey's robust stand against the Communist danger, and pointed timely warnings to those who might be misled by insidious propaganda. His remarks on Turkey's relations with her Middle Eastern neighbours were firm in regard to support for the Bagdad Pact, but unprovocative, and indeed constructive, in relation to the non-member States and to Israel. He treated the Cyprus problem with the moderation which he has always shown on this question, although his strong words about Greece, whilst more than justified in Turkish eyes and indeed milder than those of many Deputies, may have been unfortunately timed at a moment when there is at least a hope that the new Greek Government may genuinely wish to bury the hatchet. The main emphasis of his speech was on the highly salutary point that minor local differences must be set aside or solved in Turkey's foreign relations in order to achieve unity in facing the Communist threat.

47. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Athens, Belgrade, Bagdad, Tehran, Karachi, Moscow, Cairo and Tel Aviv; to the Heads of the United Kingdom Delegations at Paris, Strasbourg and New York and to the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

RK 1051/31 No. 5

RECORD OF CONVERSATION ON MARCH 11, 1956, BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

Present:

Secretary of State	M. Menderes
Sir James Bowker	M. Köprülü
Sir Harold Caccia	M. Nuri Birgi
Mr. Hancock	M. Urgüplü
Mr. Stewart	M. Orhan Eralp (Interpreter)
	M. Talat Miras

The Turkish Prime Minister opened the conversation. After some words of welcome, he said that he would be particularly interested to hear from the Secretary of State an account of the conversations between Sir Anthony Eden and President Eisenhower in Washington. He also hoped to have from the Secretary of State an account of his recent tour, and especially his visit to the Middle Eastern capitals.

M. Menderes then turned to the subject of *Soviet Policy*. As he saw it, the Western world was faced by different tactics, but by the same strategy. M. Menderes was not sure if all the Western allies were aware of this situation. Moreover, neutralism in the uncommitted countries appeared, at any rate for the moment, to have taken on a new vigour. Even if the Western allies were agreed on the nature of the new Russian policy, there was not agreement on counter-measures. M. Menderes thought that such disagreement was dangerous.

M. Menderes also observed with regret that the political solidity of NATO left something to be desired. Although he had been satisfied with the communiqué issued after the last NATO Ministerial meeting, events had not borne out the spirit of that communiqué. For instance, no common policy had been agreed to deal with Soviet "friendship offensives" and the Soviet trade drive. The Soviet Union retained the initiative while the Western allies were on the defensive.

Baghdad Pact

M. Menderes recalled that when, some two and a half years ago, he had had discussions with Sir Anthony Eden they had been in agreement about the desirability of setting up some defence organisation in the Middle East. In particular, they had discussed the possibility of bringing Iraq in. Her Majesty's Government had then approved that idea. The upshot had been the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact. The Turkish Government had been grateful for the part which Her Majesty's Government had played. At a later stage, Britain had acceded and the Pact had gained in strength correspondingly. The subsequent accessions of Pakistan and Iran had again added to the strength of the Pact. Unfortunately, the Turkish Government had all along been conscious that the Pact had inherent weaknesses:

(*a*) *Iraq.*—The fact that Iraq, in joining the Baghdad Pact, had broken away from the rest of the Arab world exposed her to the charge of having betrayed the Arab cause. The fact that Iraq was the only Arab member of the Pact constituted its main weakness. In this situation, the other Arab States were bound to oppose the Pact. M. Menderes recalled that about a year ago the Turkish Government had stressed this fact in a memorandum given to Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government. The Turkish Government had believed at that time that both Jordan and the Lebanon were inclined to join the Pact. If they had been properly encouraged then, there would have been a correspondingly favourable effect on Arab opinion generally.

(*b*) The fact that the *United States* had not joined the Pact.

(*c*) The fact of *French opposition*. M. Menderes considered this a subsidiary point. He said that to Turkey the French attitude was inexplicable.

These were the inherent weaknesses in the Pact.

M. Menderes then went on to develop his account of the Pact's present situation:

(*a*) *The Arab-Israel Dispute.*—M. Menderes considered that this dispute (together with the Presidential Elections) was largely responsible for the United States decision to abstain from membership. He also said that in his opinion it was this dispute which had led Her Majesty's Government to proceed with caution where the Pact was concerned.

(*b*) *Soviet offers* of military equipment and economic advantages, *e.g.*, to Egypt and Syria.

(*c*) *Egyptian and Saudi opposition.*

(*d*) The internal weakness of the régimes in *Iraq and Iran.* M. Menderes considered that recent developments had weakened the position of Nuri and the Shah and that public opinion in the two countries was beginning to wonder if it would not have been better to have stayed out of the Pact.

(*e*) *Jordan.*—Failure to carry through the project of securing Jordan's accession to the Pact had resulted in considerable loss of ground to the Pact as a whole.

In this situation M. Menderes said that Turkey felt somewhat isolated from her allies in the Pact. He recalled that some time ago President Chamoun had said that he thought the Lebanon would accede to the Pact if she could be offered, first, United States encouragement and, second, some military aid. These had not been forthcoming. M. Menderes cited this fact as an illustration of lost opportunity.

The Balkan Alliance

M. Menderes said that there was little to say about this at the present time. The alliance to-day had lost practically all its value and was hardly more than a form of words. The reasons for this were not entirely the change in Yugoslav policy. The deterioration in Turco-Greek relations and certain other unfortunate events were also responsible. The Yugoslav Government's original desire for close ties with Turkey had changed. This was in part due to the looseness of the obligations which she had undertaken under the alliance. If Turkey could have established firmer links with Yugoslavia and if the United States and the United Kingdom had shown their attitude more firmly at the time of the change in Yugoslav policy, the alliance might not be in the state that it was to-day. As it was, Yugoslavia now felt herself free to criticise NATO and the Baghdad Pact and entitled to ask Turkey why she cold-shouldered Russia.

Cyprus was also an element which weakened the Balkan Alliance.

Cyprus

M. Menderes said that he first wished to express the Turkish Government's appreciation of Her Majesty's Government's energetic action in suppressing terrorism and in arresting and deporting the Archbishop. The Turkish Government had often expressed the view that terrorism must be suppressed before the position in Cyprus could be properly considered. Now that Her Majesty's Government were taking effective measures in Cyprus and on the eve of the debate in the House of Commons next week, M. Menderes wished to state that the Turkish Government were fully prepared to support Her Majesty's Government and would like to know what practical help they could give.

Turco-Greek Relations

Turco-Greek relations were at present deplorable. Communist influence was responsible for this as well as other factors.

M. Menderes mentioned in particular the Salonika trials and indicated that there might even be a severance of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece before long.

Summing up, M. Menderes said that Turkey appeared to be falling into a position of political isolation, from which in his view she could only be rescued by action on the part of the United States and Britain who, he said, " have assumed

responsibility for international relations." The trouble was that United States policy was paralysed pending the Presidential election.

The danger was that unco-ordinated and vague policies pursued by the Western allies might have a bad effect on Turkish public opinion. The Russians were coming up every day with a new approach and suggestions varying from suggestions for economic aid to the establishment of direct telephone communications. Similar approaches were coming from the Satellites. The danger was that Turkish public opinion might begin to wonder why Turkey alone appeared to be abstaining from contacts with Russia. The situation would be particularly grave if the United States failed, as she had in the Middle East, to follow a constructive policy over Cyprus.

M. Menderes concluded by asking whether, in this situation, the Secretary of State thought it would be desirable to suggest an Anglo-United States-Turkish meeting to discuss all these questions.

The Secretary of State expressed his thanks for M. Menderes's welcome and said how disappointed Sir Anthony Eden had been that he had been twice prevented from visiting Turkey. He sent his best greetings. He referred to M. Menderes's remarks on Turkish friendship with Great Britain and said that the Turkish alliance was one of the basic points of British foreign policy. Like M. Menderes he proposed to talk with absolute frankness.

The Secretary of State then referred to M. Menderes's remarks about Soviet policy. He said that he had discussed the question of whether Soviet policy at present had undergone a change of substance or only a change of tactics, with Mr. Nehru, who had also been discussing the question with Marshal Tito. The conclusion of these two was that the repudiation of Stalinism and the qualification of Leninism might have an important effect internally in Russia. The Secretary of State was not prepared to say whether this was the case. At present he would prefer to judge Russia by her deeds. Soviet deeds had been the Czech arms deal with Egypt, arms for Afghanistan and abuse of Britain during Bulganin's and Khrushchev's tour of India and Burma. Nothing, in his opinion, was more likely to cause war than the supply of arms to Egypt and Afghanistan.

The Secretary of State went on to say that the Western Powers must increase their military defence. We must, however, also wage the cold war more offensively. He then defined the defensive and offensive measures which the West should take. In addition to military measures there should also be defence against subversion. Our alliances should be developed in that direction. The S.E.A.T.O. meeting had been particularly useful in this regard. He reserved for the next day, the question of defence against Soviet economic penetration.

On the offensive side, the Secretary of State said that we ought to consider the Soviet weak points. To his mind the weakest points were the satellite countries, notably Poland and Czechoslovakia. We ought to make use in our propaganda of the Soviet objection to free elections. We should also challenge the Russians on the question of East-West contacts outside governmental control.

The Secretary of State said that he thought that if we concentrated on the battle of ideas we should improve our position in the Middle East and South Asia.

The Secretary of State then proceeded to a review of the different areas of the world.

Far East

At the Washington Talks, it had been plain that no change in the United States policy could be expected, at any rate this year. The view of Her Majesty's Government was that China's membership of the United Nations was desirable because it would open up the possibility of exploiting a rift between the Soviet Union and China. United States policy on the other hand tended to push the Soviet Union and China together.

On the question of Formosa and the offshore islands, the British view was that it would be wiser for the Chinese Nationalists to retire to Formosa. Unfortunately, they were unwilling to do so. This put the United States in an awkward situation.

If they were to give military support to the Chinese Nationalists, they would risk world war. If they were to withhold support, they would lose face.

On South-East Asia, there had been complete agreement.

The S.E.A.T.O. Conference

The Secretary of State said that all the parties to the South-East Asia Treaty had come to Karachi in a mood of some pessimism. Australia and New Zealand, for instance, had evidently feared that Britain had lost interest in the area. Pakistan had had grave anxieties about Afghanistan and Kashmir. The success of the Conference had surprised everyone. There had been useful discussions on organisation, especially on military planning and measures to be taken to counter infiltration and subversion.

The Baghdad Pact

The Secretary of State said that M. Menderes had put his finger on the weaknesses of the Pact. Her Majesty's Government for their part would continue to give the Pact their firm support. Both their interests and their prestige were involved. Neither Britain nor Turkey could afford to let the Pact fail. Both military stability and economic development were important. Without military stability, economic development was impossible. Without economic development, military effort could not be sustained.

As regards publicity for the Pact, however, it would be necessary to decide from time to time whether to stress the military or the economic aspect. In the present state of the economic cold war, the Secretary of State felt that there was much to be said for concentrating on publicity about economic measures. If we could publicise the economic development which was going on in Iran, Iraq and Turkey, the Pact itself might become a magnet to other countries.

The United States Attitude

In the Washington communiqué, the United States Government had said that they would give the Pact "solid support." Both the President and Mr. Dulles had said that that meant exactly what it said. But, although we had made plain to them our desire that they should join now, it was clear that United States membership could not at present be carried through the Congress. *The Secretary of State* had raised this question in Karachi with Mr. Dulles, to see if he could not change the decision on United States membership. Mr. Dulles had said that the decision could not be changed. But he had also said that he intended to take "vigorous action in the Middle East." A decision on the nature of this action must await his return to the United States. The Secretary of State observed that the Americans were disturbed by the Middle Eastern situation and that, when they were disturbed, they usually acted.

Pakistan

The Secretary of State had detected no weakening in Pakistan as regards the Pact. Recent developments in Afghanistan had moreover ensured public support for the Pact, though there was some apprehension lest non-members of the Pact might be receiving more favourable treatment from the Western Powers than members.

Iraq

The Secretary of State had found Nuri well and in good heart. He thought that the leaders of Iraqi opinion were still in favour of the Pact, though there were subversive elements in the country, on which Egyptian propaganda and Saudi money were not failing to play. The Secretary of State had no immediate worry about Iraq, at any rate so long as the King, the Crown Prince and Nuri could maintain their positions.

Iran

The Secretary of State had found the Shah and his Ministers proud that they had taken an independent decision to join the Pact. This was a factor in their continued support of the Pact.

Egypt

The Secretary of State referred to his recent talks in Cairo with Colonel Nasser. Nasser had practically said that he accepted the concept of the Northern Tier. He did not object to the accession to the Pact of non-Arab States. He had said that, if the invitations to Arab States could be withdrawn, he would be prepared to consider reviving the Arab Security Pact. There might then be at a later time some association between the two Pacts, with Iraqi membership as the common factor. The Secretary of State said that he considered that it would be impossible to withdraw the invitations to Arab States. That would be humiliating and tantamount to a public confession of no confidence in the Pact. The Shah had said that such action would be unthinkable.

Colonel Nasser's remarks on association between the Arab Security Pact and the Baghdad Pact had not been specific, and he would not in any case commit himself to stopping his efforts to try to get Iraq out of the Baghdad Pact.

Meanwhile, Egyptian propaganda against Britain and her allies had in no way abated. It was difficult to know whether any progress could be made with Colonel Nasser, or whether one could believe what he said.

The Secretary of State then reviewed the steps which he thought might be taken to strengthen the Baghdad Pact.

(*a*) The United States Government had promised solid support. It was necessary to find out what this meant in terms of action.

(*b*) Her Majesty's Government would continue to give all possible help.

(*c*) It was important to make it apparent that membership of the Pact carried with it concrete advantages. This presented considerable difficulties. In the case of Pakistan and India, for instance, if the non-Communist countries were to concentrate on helping Pakistan, what course would India be likely to take? The Soviet Union was only too ready to offer India economic assistance. The case of Egypt and the High Dam was parallel. If the Russians were to build the dam, Egypt would become a Soviet satellite. The Secretary of State summed up his policy as follows. Members of the Pact should be accommodated in a First Class carriage. Certain other countries might get a Second Class carriage. The rest would have to run after the train.

(*d*) *Strengthening the Organisation of the Pact.*—The Secretary of State had not been impressed with the organisation at present. He had spoken to the Secretary-General in Baghdad who had explained some of his difficulties. The Secretary of State intended on his return to the United Kingdom to recommend that the organisation should be strengthened at all its levels and that representatives of the necessary rank and authority should be appointed to the various special committees. The Secretary of State mentioned that the Minister of Defence would be leading the United Kingdom Delegation to the Tehran meeting of the Council, and he hoped it would be possible to send another Minister, who would be concerned with the economic side.

(*e*) *France.*—The Secretary of State had spoken to M. Pineau in Karachi about the latter's speech to the Anglo-American Press Association. He had considered M. Pineau's speech disgraceful. It had amounted to a public denouncement of the policy of an ally at a particularly difficult time. The Secretary of State had not failed to observe to M. Pineau that Her Majesty's Government had always supported French policies in North Africa, *e.g.*, in the United Nations, even when they did not themselves approve of those policies.

(*f*) *The Arab-Israel Dispute.*—It was decided to discuss this question in greater detail on the following day. The Secretary of State considered that the prospects of a settlement were more remote than hitherto. In this situation he thought that it was wisest to concentrate our efforts on keeping the peace.

Jordan

General Glubb's dismissal had been a blow. It was not so much the fact of the dismissal which had rankled, but the way in which the dismissal had taken place. General Glubb's age was such that he would in any case have had to retire before long. Her Majesty's Government had all along felt that it would be necessary eventually to accept Arab officers in command of units, together with a British military mission to Jordan.

In the *Secretary of State's* view, King Hussein's action had been taken on the advice of a group of young officers. Nuri had not considered that these officers were pro-Egyptian or pro-Saudi, though Saudi money was always at work in Jordan.

The Secretary of State did not consider that Jordan was lost. The object of British policy would be to keep the Arab Legion intact as an effective force and to retain Jordan in the British orbit.

Syria

The Secretary of State said that the situation in Syria was one which could not be tolerated. Nuri had expressed ideas about this in Baghdad, which could be reserved for discussion in detail next day.

RK 1051/32 No. 6

RECORD OF CONVERSATION ON MARCH 12, 1956, BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

Present:

Secretary of State	M. Menderes
Sir James Bowker	M. Köprülü
Sir Harold Caccia	M. Nuri Birgi
Mr. Hancock	M. Ürgüplü
Mr. Stewart	M. Esenbel
	M. Eralp
	M. Miras

Balkan Pact

Yugoslavia

The Secretary of State said that Her Majesty's Government shared the Turkish dislike of the neutralist tendencies of Yugoslavia. He disapproved of the way in which Yugoslavia was working with Egypt and India in support of neutralist tendencies. It should not be forgotten that the Yugoslavs are Communists. But, in the Secretary of State's view, it was encouraging that the Yugoslavs appeared to be determined to maintain their national independence, an effort in which they were likely to succeed. The best tactics with Yugoslavia were to press them as necessary on whatever points were at issue. For instance, we should not fail to point out to them how wrong-headed is their attitude about the Bagdad Pact.

Greece

The Secretary of State said that it was a matter of dispute whether Her Majesty's Government or the Turkish Government had the worse relations with Greece. The Secretary of State recalled how some eighteen months ago he had spoken to M. Stefanopoulos in New York and warned him how Greek insistence on the Cyprus issue was calculated to destroy friendship between Greece and Turkey.

The main difficulty in our relations with Greece arose of course out of the Cyprus question. The Secretary of State had always doubted the possibility of coming to an agreement with Archbishop Makarios. Her Majesty's Government had played the hand slowly and carefully, being desirous to ensure the greatest possible support from world public opinion, and especially in the United States. On the whole, the deportation of Makarios had been taken well. It was now British policy to continue with the rigorous suppression of terrorism, while keeping the constitutional offer open. It was Her Majesty's Government's intention to see that the interests of the Turkish Cypriots were fully protected.

There were many ways of doing this. The Secretary of State instanced the United States constitution.

The Secretary of State expressed gratitude for M. Menderes's offer of help on Cyprus. He had sent a message about this to the Prime Minister in London.

M. Menderes said that the help which he had offered was not only in connexion with the forthcoming House of Commons Debate on Cyprus, but also on the general question of Cyprus in all its ramifications. M. Menderes hoped that he might be able to help in countering allegations that Britain was following a policy of colonialism in Cyprus.

The Secretary of State asked M. Menderes if he could clarify what he had said the day before about the possibility of a rupture of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece.

M. Menderes replied that the possibility of such a rupture was one which must be borne in mind in present conditions. Anti-Turkish propaganda in Greece, the Salonika trial, &c., had exacerbated Turkish public opinion. Martial law was still being enforced in Istanbul. If it was removed, there might be a renewal of anti-Greek disturbances.

The Secretary of State asked whether Yugoslavia had shown any desire to mediate between Turkey and Greece.

M. Menderes replied that the Yugoslav Ambassador in Ankara had suggested that Yugoslav good offices might be useful. A similar suggestion had been made to the Turkish Ambassador in Belgrade. It appeared that the Yugoslav idea did not go beyond urging moderation on both sides, and particularly on Turkey. But M. Menderes believed that the Yugoslavs were sincere in their desire to keep the Balkan Pact intact.

In reply to an enquiry from the Secretary of State, M. Menderes agreed that it would be useful for the Secretary of State to speak to the Yugoslav Ambassador in London, who he believed was not without influence upon Marshal Tito.

The Secretary of State agreed accordingly to see M. Velebit upon his return to London.

M. Menderes concluded by saying that public opinion in Turkey was now so sensitive upon the Cyprus question that it had become an element in Turkish domestic politics. In his view, much of the trouble with Greece was that, in spite of the struggle of Greece against Communism, some 30 per cent. of the population or more were still Communists. This, combined with the expansionist aspirations of the Church, had produced a very dangerous situation.

The Secretary of State then referred to the summary of the present international position both in Europe and the Middle East with which M. Menderes had concluded his statement the day before.

In regard to N.A.T.O. the Secretary of State said that he thought that it was in good shape militarily. Progress in the field of political unity had been slower. It was understandable that the Turkish Government should be concerned with a situation where the Balkan Alliance appeared to be disintegrating, the development of the Bagdad Pact temporarily halted, and Russia increasing her pressure on the surrounding countries.

In regard to Yugoslavia the Secretary of State accepted the point made by M. Menderes to the effect that Yugoslavia did not wish to see N.A.T.O. become over-powerful. He thought that her objective was to seek a balance between the East and West. Nevertheless in view of the present Russian offensive, Yugoslavia might be prepared to put her weight rather more on the Western side. M. Menderes did not demur, but considered that the decision to rearm Germany had pushed the Yugoslavs further towards collaboration with the Russians.

Reverting to the military side of N.A.T.O. the Secretary of State said that he thought that the position was generally satisfactory. In other fields the Secretary of State thought that O.E.E.C. was working well. Euratom was now being examined in the O.E.E.C. context. The Russian economic offensive ought also to be considered by the N.A.T.O. Powers. Certain of these Powers (notably Germany and Holland) had important commercial and economic interests in the countries which were now being subjected to the Russian offensive. Her Majesty's Government were thinking of proposing consideration of the problem of the Russian economic offensive at the next meeting of the N.A.T.O. Council in May. The Secretary of State had already discussed this question with Dr. Erhard and the Italian Prime Minister, who had agreed that the question might well be brought before the N.A.T.O. Council. He had also discussed the Russian offensive with the United States and Canadian Governments. He would consult Sir Anthony Eden and if the latter were in agreement, ensure that the other member Governments of N.A.T.O. were given adequate notice.

In regard to Italy *M. Menderes* said that when he visited Rome some eighteen months ago he had been concerned to find the Italian Government anxious to meet the Russian advances, principally on account of public opinion in Italy. The Secretary of State said that this might have been the case. At present, however, he was convinced that the Italian Government was in good heart and well aware of the Russian danger.

M. Menderes said that Turkey's economic difficulties were well known. None the less he could assure the Secretary of State that she would not be beguiled by these Russian manoeuvres.

The Secretary of State then said that he thought that it was necessary to try and establish which countries were likely to be most sensitive to Russian penetration and which particular Russian offers were the most dangerous. For instance, if the Russians were to build the telephone exchange in Amman it might be dangerous. On the other hand if the Russians or the Poles were to build the

Hedjaz Railway they might find themselves in difficulties with the local people and government, with consequent gain to the West.

M. Menderes appeared to think that the best answer to the Russian economic or political penetration was to give the Bagdad Pact a new impetus. The influence of a strong and successful Bagdad Pact Organisation he argued would extend far beyond the limits of the countries participating. He cited the influence of N.A.T.O. and remarked that if the Lebanon and Jordan had acceded to the Pact a year ago, Syria would probably have followed suit. Even to-day, if the United States and one more Arab country would accede, Syria would probably come in. Turkey could not afford to have a hostile Syria on her southern frontier. *The Secretary of State* concluded this part of the discussion by suggesting:

(*a*) that the question of Russian economic penetration might be reviewed at the next N.A.T.O. Council meeting ;

(*b*) that the Economic Committee of the Bagdad Pact might also consider the problem ; though he held the view that the principal objective of the Economic Committee should be the improvement of economic and commercial relations between the member countries ;

(*c*) members of the Bagdad Pact should consider ways and means of strengthening it.

Arab-Israel Dispute

The Secretary of State said that in his opinion the chances of a settlement were diminishing. Only a major change in the situation in the Middle East would create conditions where a settlement became possible. In these circumstances, our task was to keep the peace. To this end it might well be necessary to strengthen the Mixed Armistice Commission and other means at the disposal of the United Nations.

M. Menderes said that it was necessary on the one hand to try to make the Arab countries understand that Israel had come to stay and on the other to make Israel understand that she was to renounce any ideas of further expansion. He believed that as long as the Arab countries were united on the question of Palestine, a settlement would not be possible. It was clearly a major Egyptian objective to keep the problem of Israel alive and thus enable Egypt to maintain her position in the Arab world.

Further discussion on Egypt was deferred to the evening.

RK 1051/33 No. 7

RECORD OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC ON MARCH 12, 1956

There were also present:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs	Sir James Bowker
The Turkish Ambassador in London	Sir Harold Caccia
M. Orhan Eralp	

Most of the conversation consisted of an account by the President of the present situation as he saw it, in the various countries of the Middle East, which he dealt with in turn.

Jordan

The President referred to his visit to Amman in November 1955 and said that his visit was in the nature of a deferred return visit to the visit paid to Turkey by King Abdullah. Before going he had let King Hussein know that he would wish to talk of Jordan's accession to the Bagdad Pact and confirmed that his visit would be welcome. He and the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs had discussed the question with the King and the Jordan Government. They had pointed out that Jordan's choice lay between Egypt and the Bagdad Pact and urged the advantages of her choosing the latter. The King and the Prime Minister had expressed readiness to join the Pact and to discuss the question with the United Kingdom. As regards General Glubb, the President sensed a certain feeling of resentment as regards General Glubb's position, but he had the impression that on the whole the Jordanians were proud of the advantages which General Glubb's services had brought them. Though he had attached little importance to the fact that the shops in Amman had shut on his arrival, the President had learnt during his visit of the existence of subversive activities in the country.

The Lebanon

The President said that President Chamoun was now almost the only person of importance in the Lebanon who was wholeheartedly in favour of association with the West. His position had become extremely difficult and he had recently made an appeal to Turkey for support.

Syria

The position of the Syrian Government was precarious; the Communists were working most actively and were supported by the Army. The situation was very bad.

Iran

During his visit last year to Tehran, *the President* had asked the Shah if he thought he could trust Russia. On getting a negative reply he had said that in that case the only possible choice for Iran was to associate herself with the Western Powers by joining the Bagdad Pact. Iran's subsequent accession to the Pact was the Shah's personal decision. In view of recent developments public opinion in Iran was now beginning to question its wisdom.

Iraq

The position here was better than in the other countries, but the political situation was not altogether stable and subversive elements were at work.

The Secretary of State said that his view of the situation as regards the Bagdad Pact was not quite as gloomy as that of the President. The S.E.A.T.O. Council meeting which he had attended at Karachi had been successful and reassuring. The Pakistani attitude to the Bagdad Pact was firm, and he had found no wavering on the part of Iraq or Iran during his visits to Bagdad and Tehran. He reaffirmed that Her Majesty's Government were determined to give the Bagdad Pact every possible support.

RK 10338/6 No. 8

SOVIET-TURKISH RELATIONS

(1)

Sir William Hayter to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received March 16*)

(No. 286) *Moscow,*
(Telegraphic) *March 16, 1956.*

Both *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* to-day carry articles commemorating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the signature of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship of 1921.

2. The articles claim that this Treaty was largely valued by Turkish leaders before the Second World War and brought advantage to both countries in political, economic and cultural fields. Unfortunately Turkey had departed from the policy of Ataturk and Inonu. The worsening in Soviet-Turkish relations which followed on Turkish adherence to NATO and the Bagdad Pact only harmed both countries, especially Turkey, and public opinion as expressed in the "Back to Ataturk" movement is becoming aware of this and demanding normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union.

3. The articles then recall recent Soviet measures and speeches designed to improve relations and seek to refute Turkish objections by the following arguments:—

(*a*) It is said that Soviet-Turkish relations can only improve as a result of an improvement in the international situation generally. But the international situation can only improve if individual and especially neighbouring countries improve their relations first.

(*b*) The Turks claim that an improvement in relations would lead to Soviet interference in Turkish internal affairs. But Soviet foreign policy is based on the Five Principles and these should form the basis of Soviet-Turkish relations.

(*c*) The Turks claim that as a member of NATO Turkey cannot unilaterally improve her relations with the Soviet Union. But membership of NATO has not prevented Norway and Denmark from seeking such an improvement.

4. The articles conclude by stating that normalisation of Soviet-Turkish relations would benefit both sides, strengthen peace in the Near and Middle East and thus contribute to an easing of international tension.

RK 10338/6 (2)

Sir William Hayter to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received March 16*)

(No. 287) *Moscow,*
(Telegraphic) *March 16, 1956.*

My immediately preceding telegram: Soviet-Turkish Relations.

Undeterred by repeated rebuffs, the Soviet Government is still holding out the olive branch to Turkey. Taken in conjunction with to-day's announcement that Mikoyan is to go to Pakistan in connexion with the celebrations of the proclamation of the Republic, these articles show that the Soviet Government is continuing its efforts to win over not only the uncommitted, but also the committed countries and in particular is losing no opportunity to weaken or disrupt the Bagdad Pact.

RK 1051/34 No. 9

TURKISH SATISFACTION AT SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO ANKARA

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received March 24*)

(No. 55. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *March 20, 1956.*

I have the honour to send you herewith the programme of your visit to Ankara from the 11th to the 13th of March as it actually occurred. Except for occasional uncertainties about the transport, the Turkish authorities dealt with the administrative side of the programme very competently and it does not seriously differ from that which was planned. The other material documents concerning the visit, namely the records of the political conversations, the joint communiqué, the texts of your statement to the press on arrival, your broadcast and your opening statement and the questions and answers at the press conference have all been sent separately.

2. Reflection confirms my impression that the visit was extremely valuable, as indeed was to be expected. The timing turned out to be especially appropriate. To the Turkish satisfaction at receiving at last an official visit from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs after the disappointment caused by the last minute cancellation of the projected visits by Sir Anthony Eden in 1953 and 1955, was added the gratification of having direct discussions with you at a moment when so much was happening in the international field of direct concern to Turkey, and more particularly when the recent tripartite talks in Washington on the Middle East had given the Turks a feeling of being left out of a picture in which they should have a prominent place. The general account of international affairs with which the Prime Minister opened the talks, with its conclusion that the international instruments of collective security—N.A.T.O., Balkan Alliance and Bagdad Pact—had now become such that they seemed merely to increase Turkey's sense of isolation, was an example of the shock tactics which M. Menderes habitually likes to employ. But it was, I think, also a genuine expression of apprehension at recent setbacks to the groupings on Turkey's flanks, and I am certain that the opportunity of discussing these problems with you, of hearing your own impressions formed in the course of your visits to other capitals in the area and of receiving direct from you assurances on certain aspects of British policy of cardinal importance to Turkey, has given the Prime Minister and the Turkish Government as a whole a renewed sense of confidence and fortified their natural inclination to work in close concert with Her Majesty's Government on all matters of common interest. Satisfaction over your visit has been expressed not only by members of the Government and officials, but also by the newspapers, who were greatly pleased by your press conference, and by numbers of persons in various walks of life with whom the Embassy are in contact. In short, there is a general feeling that the reference in the joint communiqué issued after your talks, to an effective and lively friendship being something more than a formal document referred to in times of crisis, is a true commentary on the present relationship between Turkey and Britain.

3. Though incidental to the main purpose of the visit, the signature of the Cultural Agreement has given great satisfaction to the British Council representative in Ankara, and I hope that it will have useful results.

4. I should like, if I may, to express my thanks to you for consenting to carry through such an exacting programme here after the heavy claims that had already been made on you elsewhere.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Political Officer, Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

Enclosure

Summary of the Programme of the Secretary of State's Visit to Ankara from the 11th to the 13th March

March 11

1245 hours	Arrival. Formal reception at the airport.
1345 hours	Luncheon privately with the Ambassador.
1530 hours	Received Commonwealth Heads of Missions.
1610 hours	Signed the President's book.
1630 hours	Laid a wreath at Atatürk's tomb.
1700 hours	Political discussions with Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.
2030 hours	Reception given by Minister for Foreign Affairs.

March 12

1000 hours	Continuation of political discussions.
1245 hours	Signature of Anglo-Turkish Cultural Agreement.
1300 hours	Luncheon with Prime Minister.
1600 hours	Toured Ankara and visited Hittite Museum.
1700 hours	Received by President for tea.
1750 hours	Spoke to Embassy staff.
1800 hours	Press conference and recorded broadcast.
2030 hours	Reception given by the Ambassador
2230 hours	Continuation and conclusion of political discussions.

March 13

0900 hours	Departure for Tel Aviv.

RK 1052/4G No. 10

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND MR. KOPRULU AT THE BRITISH EMBASSY, PARIS, MAY 3, 1956

Present:

Secretary of State	Mr. Köprülü
Sir Harold Caccia	Mr. Birgi
Mr. Shuckburgh	

The Secretary of State began by saying that he thought that the Baghdad Pact meeting at Tehran had been very good and that the Pact would now stand on its own feet. *Mr. Köprülü* agreed. The pessimism of the previous months had now gone and, with American participation in the Economic and Anti-Subversion Committees, he thought the work of the Pact would go steadily forward.

Syria

The Secretary of State gave Mr. Köprülü an outline of the talks which had taken place with the Americans since he had last discussed the situation with Mr. Menderes. He said that these consultations were continuing and that the Iraqis had already taken steps, as a result of some urging from us, to try and extend their influence in the Syrian Press and with Syrian political leaders. Nevertheless, he thought that the situation was rapidly deteriorating and that it was necessary for us to keep up the enthusiasm of the Americans for doing something to remedy it. *Mr. Köprülü* entirely agreed. He said that he had spoken on the subject to Mr. Dulles the same day and had found him worried but with no clear idea what should be done. He understood the United States was going to help the Lebanon to the tune of $2 million.

Egypt

Mr. Köprülü said that he thought Nasser had been shaken by the Baghdad Pact meeting and by United States support for the Pact. He was less sure of himself and was showing signs of nervousness and hastiness, notably in signing his recent "ridiculous agreement" with the Saudis and Yemenis. Now there was a report that he was to visit England. Presumably he had invented this.

The Secretary of State confirmed that we had not invited, and did not intend to invite, Nasser to England. We wanted him to remain uncertain of our intentions. *Mr. Köprülü* said that Nasser would always try to blackmail the West. He was our enemy and we must break his influence and policy. Once this had been done, our whole position in the Arab world would be easier. We would get more Arabs into the Pact and we should have a chance of solving the Palestine question. He had tried to explain to Mr. Dulles that Nasser was the main obstacle to a Palestine settlement since he had a vested interest in keeping it unsolved.

The Secretary of State said that Mr. Dulles seemed still to think that Nasser was a brand which could be saved from the burning. He himself was convinced that this was not so; that he was an enemy and that we should be most cautious if he showed any signs of changing his tune.

Saudi Arabia

The Secretary of State gave Mr. Köprülü an account of our recent Mission to Saudi Arabia and said that the Americans were very keen on improving our relations with Saudi Arabia, but they were not helping enough themselves. They seemed to be too modest about their influence with the Saudis. *Mr. Köprülü* agreed. Mr. Dulles had told him that he thought the British should make some concessions to Saudi Arabia. He had not encouraged this. He entirely agreed with the Secretary of State that we could not give way on Buraimi without destroying the confidence of the other Rulers in our protection.

Iraq and Jordan

The Secretary of State said that we were not happy about relations between the Iraq and Jordan Royal families. After some discussion of the personalities involved, it was agreed that the Turks would try to advise the Iraqis to be less formal and more understanding in their relations with Jordan.

Soviet Policy

The Secretary of State gave Mr. Köprülü a brief outline of the results of the London talks. It was clear that the Russians greatly disliked the Baghdad Pact and were determined to do what they could to break it up.

Mr. Köprülü said that Mr. Mikoyan had recently told the Turks that the Soviets would like to have friendly relations with Turkey despite her membership of NATO and of the Baghdad Pact. He thought that this showed that they were prepared in practice to accept the existence of the Pact. *The Secretary of State* said that, at any rate, they now realised that the stability of Iraq and Iran, closely linked with Turkey, was a vital British interest.

Anti-Subversion

Mr. Köprülü said that there was now open propaganda war between Nasser and Turkey. The Turks would certainly give as good as they got. Meanwhile, the anti-subversion Committee of the Pact was proposing to meet in a month's time and would, he hoped, produce plans for co-operation in combating this sort of campaign. But the matter was more urgent than that. There should be common action at once to co-ordinate the lines of propaganda of the Allies in defence of their Middle East policy.

The Secretary of State agreed and undertook to make arrangements for exchange of information with the Turks on basic publicity lines.

Cyprus

Mr. Köprülü said that he had discussed this question with Mr. Dulles and would be seeing the Greek Foreign Minister. There was reason to believe that the Greeks might not raise the question in NATO. If they did, the Turks would be obliged to make a strong statement. Otherwise, they would themselves say nothing.

It was agreed that Mr. Birgi should inform Sir Harold Caccia of the results of Mr. Köprülü's talk with the Greek Foreign Minister so that tactics for the NATO meeting could be co-ordinated.

RK 1016/25 No. 11

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESSES OF M. MENDERES' REGIME IN TURKEY

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received June 23*)

(No. 110. Confidential) *Ankara, June 19, 1956.*

Sir,

It is some time since I addressed you on the internal political situation in Turkey, and I now have the honour to submit some observations on the strength and weaknesses of M. Menderes' régime as it appears with the National Assembly on the point of entering the summer recess.

2. In some ways the Prime Minister's position is stronger now than might reasonably have been forecast at the beginning of the year, and he has certainly succeeded in recovering some ground since the crisis leading to the substantial Cabinet changes announced on December 10, 1955, though he has by no means regained the position of complete ascendancy which he enjoyed this time last year. The explanation for the improvement this year does not lie in more favourable circumstances, for the economic situation (which is what counts for the bulk of the electorate) is worse than ever, but rather in his own remarkable powers of coercion and persuasion.

3. Following the serious rebellion against his leadership the Prime Minister was far more vulnerable than he had ever been since he came to power; yet his critics largely failed to exploit their opportunity. The Opposition, despite gestures by the People's Republican Party and repeated hints of a readiness to unite, has remained divided. (They have doubled their combined strength in Deputies since the elections of 1954 but still number in total only 80 compared with 450 Democrat Deputies.) If they hoped to gain anything by discrediting the Prime Minister for his share in the anti-Greek riots last September, they have failed; although Government complicity is now widely assumed, M. Menderes' reputation does not appear significantly to have suffered in consequence, thanks to the general and increasing dislike of the Greeks. The tactics of the People's Republican Party, dictated largely by the irresponsible Secretary-General, M. Gülek, have been as sterile as ever. Neither they nor any other Opposition party has produced realistic economic proposals as an alternative to the present muddle. The Freedom Party, after a hopeful beginning, has made little progress, and has failed to attract more rebels from the Democrat Party. Within the ruling party, the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group, which after precipitating the crisis at the end of last year seemed determined and able to exercise some control over the Prime Minister, has failed to maintain a real grip. Moreover, M. Menderes has managed to hold together his team of subservient Ministers, with the exception of the financial expert Fahrettin Ulaş, who resigned almost certainly because he resented interference in his department, and was replaced at the Ministry of Commerce by a safe Menderes man, Zeyyat Mandalinci, with no apparent qualifications for this key job. Rumours of disagreement between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister recently became sufficiently strong to provoke an official denial, but few see Professor Köprülü as a successor to M. Menderes or as likely to prove a serious embarrassment to him.

4. If M. Menderes has thus succeeded in holding his position and even improving it in recent months so far as internal politics are concerned, this is despite the fact that he has shown little disposition to mend his ways. He has shown no sign of tackling the economic crisis realistically nor of willingness to fulfil the pre-conditions of increased United States aid. Rather has he allowed the situation to drift from bad to worse, apparently refusing to abandon the hope that the Americans will save him from total disaster, and believing that his programme of capital expansion will be able to go forward again after a short breathing space to be obtained by the reduction of the annual payments due to the financial creditor countries.

5. Neither has he done anything substantial to implement the high-sounding promises of his new programme as announced at the beginning of the year to satisfy his critics in the Democrat Party

Parliamentary Group (*cf.* paragraph 5 of my annual report, despatch No. 5 of the 16th of January). No progress has been made on constitutional reform (the Assembly is promised a report by 1958) though it is thought that the President, understandably, would favour some limitation of the Prime Minister's powers, and in any case M. Bayar can hardly fail to see the shortcomings of the present Constitution in this respect.

6. So far from giving additional security of tenure to the Judiciary, as was promised, the Prime Minister recently, amid a storm of criticism in intellectual circles, had sixteen judges retired before their time, thereby causing grave doubts of the Government's intentions towards independent-minded judges. He followed this up, in spite of promises of a more liberal policy, with additional measures against the press which have caused much criticism in Ankara and Istanbul, and will no doubt be unfavourably noticed abroad (the details were given in my Chancery's letters of the 6th and 8th of June). It is worth recalling that it was in defence of the press, and specifically over the right of proof in libel cases, that dissenting Deputies first broke away from the Democrat Party to form the Freedom Party. On the occasion of this new repressive action, a number of Democrat Party Deputies opposed the Prime Minister's policy and the leader of the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group resigned during discussions on the draft Bill; but the Prime Minister had his way, the Bill has become law, and the press seems to be in for a tough time if the new powers are used and the Judiciary gives way to Government pressure.

7. M. Menderes' motives for this new action against the press remain somewhat obscure, for he must have known how unpopular it would be at home and abroad, and there have been no fresh prosecutions recently under the former laws (which were severe enough to send journalists to gaol for insulting Ministers). It has been suggested that the Prime Minister may have wanted to ensure that the press do not profit by the expiry of Martial Law in Istanbul on the 7th of June; or that certain offending newspaper owners or owner-writers, as opposed to journalists, have hitherto escaped the net of the Minister of Justice, or even that it is in preparation for advancing the date of the next general elections from 1958 to 1957, when the Prime Minister may hope that, with the Opposition muzzled, he may still be able to get an overwhelming majority. It may be that he is preparing the ground for the acquittal of the Ministers in his former Administration (Zorlu, Polatkan, Yircali and Sarol) whose conduct has been under investigation. He may also wish to guard himself further from criticism during the summer season of speech-making up and down the country, and it is now a fact that the Democrat Party organ *Zafer* is practically the only paper which supports the Government through thick and thin; several influential independent commentators who normally took the Government's part on major issues last year have now turned definitely against the Prime Minister and some formerly Democrat Party papers also. There may be a number of contributory factors, of which the Prime Minister's well-known and perhaps increasingly intolerant temperament is doubtless one; but the fact remains that in this new measure he has succeeded once again in pushing through an unpopular (and unnecessary) Bill by the sheer force of his own authority and oratory.

8. It is of course true that the standard of journalism in Turkey is, with few exceptions, low and that freedom of expression is apt to be abused in the most irresponsible manner. Furthermore it is a tradition of the past, still latent in the minds of whatever Government may be in power, that any open attack on the Government is a sign that the Government is weak. It is probably this atavistic sentiment, fortified by his particularly strong personal sensitivity to criticism, that is the main reason for M. Menderes' present policy of repression, in pursuing which he is unmoved by the thought that his methods have given to the issue an altogether unmerited importance.

9. With the National Assembly soon in recess until the autumn, the Prime Minister will have a breathing space during which the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group will have little chance of exercising any restraining influence on him and the storm over the amended press laws will have a chance to abate.

10. There is no sign at the moment that M. Menderes intends to change his tactics in the near future. Rumours referred to above of general elections early next year seem to have little foundation at present, and the Assembly has recently voted against

holding by-elections for vacant seats. Nor does a likely successor to M. Menderes appear yet to emerge from his own or any other party. This, indeed, is one of the most powerful factors in his favour, as many of his critics admit that there is no substitute for him at present.

11. There are, however, two factors, both of which lie outside the scope of this discussion on internal political affairs, which could significantly alter the position. One is the economic situation which seems likely to deteriorate further before there is any improvement. A statement a few days ago by the Minister of Commerce, doubtless reflecting the Prime Minister's views, was extremely depressing for those who would like to see Turkey's finances placed on a sounder basis, for M. Mandalinci gave no indication of any realistic approach to the problem of ever-increasing indebtedness.

12. The other factor is Cyprus. The riots of September last showed how high feelings can run here, and Greek tactics since then have further tried Turkish patience. While the People's Republican Party Opposition at one time tried to make party capital out of the Government's passive policy on Cyprus, it is perhaps significant that ex-President Inönü, in his reference to foreign affairs in the winding-up speech at the recent People's Republican Party Congress, omitted any mention of Cyprus; I doubt whether his party dare in the present mood of the people make further party play of this problem. In any case the Government has begun to make its voice heard and at last to reply to Greek propaganda. Public feeling has in fact become so strong that it cannot be ignored, as M. Menderes will doubtless find if he is faced with the necessity of selling to public opinion an unpopular policy on this highly emotional issue.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

RK 10399/8 No. 12

OFFICIAL VISIT TO TURKEY OF THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN FROM THE 15th TO THE 29th JULY, 1956

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received July 30)

(No. 137. Confidential) *Ankara, July 25, 1959.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, at the invitation of President Bayar, the President of Pakistan, General Iskender Mirza and the Begum Mirza have paid an official visit to Turkey. The President was accompanied by his personal staff, by the Minister of Finance, Siyed Amjad Ali and his wife, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistani Army, General Ayub Khan, and the Foreign Secretary Sikander Ali Baig, with his wife. The President and his party arrived in Ankara on the 15th of July.

2. The formal part of the programme was on familiar lines. On the first day there was a ceremonial reception at the airport, during which I and the other Commonwealth representatives were presented; a wreath was laid at the Mausoleum of Atatürk; Heads of Missions were received by the President, and an official dinner was given by President Bayar. On the second day the President addressed the National Assembly (paragraph 5 below); he was given the freedom of the City of Ankara; and President Bayar gave an evening reception. On the third day there was a military parade at the Hippodrome, a luncheon by the President of the National Assembly, a visit to the War School, a polo game at which the Counsellor at Her Majesty's Embassy, Mr. Michael Stewart, acted as referee, and a reception by the Prime Minister. On the last day of the visit to Ankara, there was a luncheon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a reception by the Pakistani Ambassador and a dinner by General Mirza. The guests at the two dinners included the Commonwealth representatives and the Italian Ambassador as doyen of the Diplomatic Corps.

3. The party left Ankara by special train soon after midnight on the 18th of July for a programme of visits in the Istanbul area, and some free days for relaxation, with a final reception in Istanbul by President Bayar on the eve of the departure of the visitors by air on the 29th of July. Meanwhile, General Ayub visited the Eastern Provinces. No members of the Opposition parties were invited to any of the Turkish receptions, but M. Inönü and other Opposition leaders attended the Pakistani reception on the 18th of July.

4. The visit has been a popular one. There is perhaps greater sympathy and more real affinity between the two countries than between Turkey and any other of her allies. Turks and Pakistanis admire each other's fighting qualities and are both Moslem countries adapting themselves to the modern world. In a message to the Pakistani nation through *Pakistan Dawn* on the eve of the visit, President Bayar remarked on its happy coincidence with the religious festival—the Kurban Bayram—which began on the 19th of July, and it was notable that at the Turkish Prime Minister's reception on the 17th of July the Director of the Department of Religious Affairs, complete with turban and robes, sat with the Presidential party for the greater part of the evening: a fact which attracted comment from Turks as well as the diplomatic body. Certainly the visit has evoked a manifestation of popular enthusiasm which the rather phlegmatic Turks rarely accord to their official visitors, and the friendly and easy manner of President Mirza and the Begum obviously delighted their hosts and gave to the receptions and dinners an air of happy informality which was absent during the visit of the more formally mannered Shah of Iran and Queen Soraya.

5. General Mirza himself made a very good impression, and his address to the National Assembly in particular was received with exceptional warmth throughout. In this address the President paid tribute to Atatürk, as he did in other speeches and coupled his name with that of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. On foreign affairs he condemned negative, passive or neutralist attitudes. In referring to the Baghdad Pact he emphasised the Moslem background to Pakistan's interest in the Middle East and in South-East Asia. She was deeply concerned in the

" Palestine question." She abhorred " colonialism," welcomed the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco as independent and sovereign States, and hoped French statesmanship would rise to the occasion to solve the Algerian problem similarly. She also welcomed measures towards self-government in Malaya and Singapore (though in conversation with me, President Mirza expressed astonishment that Her Majesty's Government should be giving independence to " a town "). She believed in the settlement of disputes through United Nations machinery and was anxious for a settlement of the Kashmir question in this way, she did not want Kashmir for herself —she merely wanted a free plebiscite. The President concluded with the reference to Pakistani support for the Turkish case on Cyprus, reported in my telegram No. 600, which was naturally received with enthusiasm here (and emphasised by the Press at the expense of his other points).

6. At the dinner offered by President Bayar on the first evening of the visit, formal speeches were exchanged. President Mirza referred to Turkey and Iran as the two fountain-heads of culture from which Pakistan had drawn freely and abundantly through a long course of history; he spoke of the debt owed by the three countries to the three contemporary leaders, Atatürk, Shah Reza Pahlevi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah and expressed Pakistan's resolute support for the Baghdad Pact. In his reply, full of specially friendly references to Pakistan, President Bayar spoke of those who took it on themselves to criticise those organisations of defence which in fact gave them the very security which enabled them to make their attacks with impunity.

7. The Begum Mirza also played her part. Apart from the conventional visits to the Red Cross and hospitals, she addressed the Turkish Women's Union, taking as her theme the emancipation of women, and describing the progress made in both countries inspired as they were by similar ideals.

8. Formal political conversations took place on the last day of the President's stay in Ankara and were continued on his arrival in Istanbul in order to be completed before the Turkish Prime Minister, accompanied by the Acting Foreign Minister and the Secretary-General, left for Kabul on the 24th of July. I am reporting separately on the scope of these conversations, as described to me by the Secretary-General.

9. As reported in my letter (1021/882/56) of the 18th of July to Sir John Ward, I took the opportunity of a conversation which I was able to have with the President at the reception on the 16th of July, to speak of Cyprus and ask His Excellency if he might see his way to using his influence with the Turks to moderate their unhelpful opposition to Lord Radcliffe's mission. As reported in my telegram No. 605, President Mirza later asked me to convey a message to Her Majesty's Government saying that he had found the Turkish feelings on Cyprus much stronger than he had expected. It was obvious that he had been deeply impressed by what had been said to him on the subject.

10. I am sending copies of this depatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Karachi, Baghdad, Tehran, Athens, and Washington; and to the Heads of the Political Office, Middle East Forces and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.,

JAMES BOWKER.

JT 1941/23 No. 13

KING IDRIS'S VISIT TO TURKEY

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received August 17)

(No. 148. Confidential) *Istanbul, August 15, 1956.*

Sir,

I have the honour to report that His Majesty King Idris of Libya paid a State visit to Turkey from the 6th to the 11th of August. The King was accompanied by a numerous suite including the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mustafa ben Halim, and the head of the Royal Divan, Abduselam El Busairi. He came to Turkey from Tobruk in the yacht of the President of Turkey and is remaining in the country privately until the 23rd of August, during which time he will probably visit Yalova, Bursa and Izmir. The Prince Minister, however, left Turkey for Cairo on the 11th of August in order to attend the meeting of the Arab League there.

2. The visit has been principally a formal occasion intended to cement the friendship between the two countries. As such and because of the season of the year it took place entirely in Istanbul, following the precedent of the visit of the King of Jordan in 1954 (my despatch No. 172 of the 28th of August, 1954). The programme was tempered to the age and frailty of the visitor and was much less strenuous than is usual for official visits. Though the evenings and luncheons were taken up with official receptions and banquets, for which the faded splendour of the Ottoman Palaces and the shiny modernity of the Hilton Hotel provided effectively contrasting backgrounds, the only other formal item was a single military exercise (with live ammunition). There was thus plenty of time for repose and sightseeing; the King visited the Old Palace of the Sultans and the more notable of the mosques and tombs of Istanbul and made his Friday prayers, like the President of Pakistan, at the Eyup Sultan mosque where Eyup, a friend and disciple of the prophet, is supposed to be buried.

3. The King made one public speech during the visit, at a luncheon given by the Turkish President on the 7th of August. In reply to President Bayar, who spoke of the great satisfaction of Turkey when Libya obtained her independence, the King said that current events could have no effect on a friendship which was based on secular traditions and was manifest in the struggle which the two nations had undergone side by side from the Libyan War until the end of the Turkish War of Independence. The independence of Libya was a happy conclusion of the victories of Atatürk. The two countries were resolved to maintain their friendship and to work with any others which would collaborate with them and respect the independence and the rights of other nations.

4. As a demonstration of friendship the Turkish press were disposed to welcome the visit. Most papers marked the King's arrival with appreciative articles pointing to the help given by the Turks (including the young Atatürk) to the Libyans in the war of 1911 and the part played by a Senussi sheikh and a relative of the present King in the Turkish War of Independence. They emphasised that Libya, in contrast to the other Arab countries, had always maintained friendly sentiments towards Turkey. Politically, however, the visit has taken place under the shadow of the Suez Canal crisis and the political discussions were not so harmonious.

5. The Libyan Prime Minister gave a press interview (published in the Istanbul paper *Cumhuriyet* on the 10th of August) whose main points I have reported by telegram. He said that he considered the Egyptian decision to nationalise the Suez Canal justified, although he understood the anxiety felt about the freedom of traffic through the Canal. Colonel Nasser had announced that the freedom of traffic was guaranteed. On the position of Libya in relation to the Bagdad Pact and the Arab *bloc* he said: " Libya has the same respect for both *blocs*." The Bagdad Pact had been concluded for the defence of a geographical region and against possible aggression and was a local alliance. It was right that Libya should not take sides with either Bagdad Pact members, or the Arab *bloc*. Algeria should have her independence and Libya wanted France to put an end to violence and recognise the rights of the Algerians. Replying to a question on Communism he said that the peace of the world would be threatened if one State tried

to impose Communism on others; international Communism was an extremely dangerous political idea " but I must also stress that Libya considers imperialist efforts most dangerous."

6. The Turkish Prime Minister took strong exception to Mustafa ben Halim's remarks about the Suez Canal which, as he pointed out, coming from an official guest of Turkey might well have been thought to reflect something of the views of the Turkish Government. As I reported by telegram I also had an opportunity of speaking to the Libyan Ambassador about them and later to Mustafa ben Halim himself. The latter subsequently issued what he claimed to be a " corrective statement." But when this statement appeared it merely said that only the remarks reported in the *Cumhuriyet*, to which paper he had made his statement, were authentic and those in other papers were not. In fact, there was plenty in the *Cumhuriyet* to which to take exception, and little in those unauthorised versions which I have seen that added materially to the *Cumhuriyet* report (paragraph 2 of my telegram No. 121 and the last two sentences of my telegram No. 122 were not taken from the *Cumhuriyet*).

7. Political exchanges were virtually confined to one conversation between the Turkish and Libyan Prime Ministers. In my telegram No. 121 I reported briefly the account which M. Menderes gave me of this conversation and my information on it is drawn entirely from him and from the Secretary-General, who was present. The Libyan Prime Minister based his remarks on the relations between Turkey and Egypt and the role which Libya, as the close friend of both parties, might play in improving them. He delivered a message from Colonel Nasser expressing the hope that the Turkish Government would support his stand over the Suez Canal, and described this as offering a unique opportunity of opening a new era in Turco-Egyptian relations. This led M. Menderes to expound in the bluntest terms his views of Colonel Nasser and his policy. Colonel Nasser, he said, posed as a leader of the Arabs and the Muslims, but what were the true facts? For centuries Turkey had acted as a bulwark to Russian penetration into the Middle East. Colonel Nasser, however, had let the Russians in by the back door. By accepting Russian arms he had morally allied himself with Russia, which was now using him as the arch *agent provocateur* for the area. His strength stemmed solely from such support as Russia continued to give him. Colonel Nasser had bitterly opposed the Bagdad Pact, a defence arrangement between neighbouring countries threatened by a common danger and comprising some of the most important Muslim States. When Turkey concluded an agreement with her neighbour Iraq, Colonel Nasser accused him of splitting the Arab world. But Colonel Nasser had seen nothing incongruous in forming a Federation with Syria, a country widely separated from Egypt but having several hundreds of miles of common frontier with Turkey. Moreover, Colonel Nasser supported Greek claims to Cyprus regardless of the fate of the 100,000 Turkish Muslims in the island.

8. M. Birgi told me that the Turkish Government had no reason to doubt the genuineness of Mustafa ben Halim's desire to see an improvement in relations between Turkey and Egypt. Such a development would obviously be in the interests of Libya. But if Mustafa ben Halim were obliged to make a choice between Turkey and Egypt there was little doubt where his choice would lie. Egypt under Colonel Nasser seemed to exercise an almost mesmeric effect on him and M. Birgi went so far as to say that he noticed a strong similiarity between his attitude to Egypt and that of the Afghan Prime Minister to Russia: there was the same fear of offending the all-powerful neighbour and the same desire to justify a policy of good relations with her. In the case of Mustafa ben Halim this attitude was no doubt reinforced by considerations of personal interest.

9. M. Menderes told me he thought it possible that in the nearly six hours' conversation which he had had with Mustafa ben Halim the latter might retain at least a few vivid impressions of what he had said, on which Mustafa ben Halim might draw on future occasions. He did not, however, believe that he had succeeded in substantially changing his attitude. A message which M. Menderes later received from Mustafa ben Halim from Cairo showed that even this expectation was unduly optimistic and that Mustafa ben Halim had, intentionally or unintentionally, misunderstood much of what M. Menderes had told him and ignored the rest. I am reporting separately on this message and M. Menderes's reply, in which, as he told me this morning, he had tried to put Mustafa ben Halim back on the rails.

10. M. Menderes told me that he himself had had an hour's conversation with King Idris, at the end of which the King had described it as having afforded him "a real lesson." But it was not felt that the elderly King was in the habit of imposing himself on his Prime Minister, who seemed regularly running ahead of him and presenting him with accomplished facts. The King himself had appeared uneasy about possible developments at home in his absence and at one time had had to be dissuaded from cutting short his private visit by a week. M. Menderes told me to-day that President Bayar had subsequently had a conversation with the King at which he had repeated to him the substance of what M. Menderes had said to Mustafa ben Halim about Colonel Nasser and his policy. President Bayar thought that the King had been impressed.

11. M. Birgi told me that having expected little of the visit, the Turkish Government had not been disappointed. But there had not been any substantial results and in view of the general situation and in order not to embarrass their guests, the Turkish Government had not even mentioned the proposed Turco-Libyan Treaty of Friendship.

12. My own discussions with the Libyan Prime Minister and the Libyan Ambassador have also been reported separately by telegram. I was able to deliver two messages from yourself to Mustafa ben Halim about the Suez Canal and your hopes for Libyan policy at the meeting of the Arab League in Cairo and also to make forcefully a number of the points contained in your various guidance telegrams on the subject. Your first message did not, I regret to say, prevent him from making his highly unsatisfactory press statement. He gave me an assurance that he would speak bluntly to Nasser, but I do not have the impression that this will in fact amount to very much.

13. King Idris is a minor though picturesque monarch, and it was not to be expected that the visit would attract the same attention as those of the heads of Turkey's more important friends and allies. Nevertheless, on a minor scale and in spite of political differences, the visit may be considered in some respects a success. It had been several times postponed, ostensibly on account of the King's health, but largely, I imagine, because the Libyans did not wish to offend Egypt and the other Arab countries by so formal a demonstration of friendship to Turkey, and credit is due to the Turks for persuading them to overcome their nervousness and to King Idris for deciding to come. Full honours were paid to the Royal party; the routine of official visits to Istanbul is now reasonably well organised, and the city was beflagged, and the mosques and principal buildings were illuminated. Though the visit did not make much impression on the public, they gave the King a friendly reception, and it is likely that he and his party will leave Turkey both with a better understanding of Turkish policy and with warmer sentiments born of acquaintance towards the country.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Tripoli and Benghazi, Cairo, Bagdad, Beirut and the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

RK 1016/35 No. 14

A REVIEW OF THE TURKISH POLITICAL SCENE

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received September 17*)

(No. 168. Secret) *Istanbul,*
Sir, *September 12, 1956.*

Successive despatches from this post have drawn a picture of the state of Turkey so similar that they seem almost to repeat themselves. There is no need to record again the details of Government pressure on a divided Opposition, and of economic crisis impending but never quite arriving; but it may be worth while trying to step back and to look at the picture as a whole. The landscape is not, I fear, very sunlit, for it shows Turkish politics dominated by one man—M. Adnan Menderes—and that man showing many of the characteristics of a dictator.

2. M. Adnan Menderes has always been the dominant force in the Democrat Party; to an extent that from the beginning has aroused resentment, he has made sure of a commanding and indeed autocratic position in it. In consequence he has surrounded himself with yes-men and the quality of Government has suffered. Only persons considered reliable by the party are chosen as parliamentary candidates. The result is that the general level of ability of the Democrat Deputies is notably mediocre. They are mainly small traders, landowners, lawyers and possibly some business men who, if not inarticulate, are incapable of independent thought and merely repeat the accepted party line. Among some 450 Deputies there are naturally a number of honest and able men but the Prime Minister takes care to ensure that they achieve no real prominence. They may enter his Cabinet but any disagreement with the Prime Minister means that they will sooner or later be forced to resign. The resignation of the Minister of Finance, M. Nedim Okmen, is the latest example. It is the latest of so many that the Prime Minister seemingly finds difficulty in getting anybody to take on this thankless job and has had to assume it himself.

3. M. Menderes's personal dynamism and determination have set the country on a course of capital development from which nothing will deflect him. And in foreign affairs he is virtually his own Foreign Minister. Though in theory he has only held the post for a few months, in practice since I have been in Turkey there has only been one active and effective Foreign Minister, M. Fatin Zorlu (from July to November 1955), and he, whatever his official position, is the one man on whose advice M. Menderes has constantly seemed to rely in financial, economic and foreign matters. In small things also, as in big (for example in piercing the Byzantine walls of Istanbul to let in a new road and in summoning the Assembly to a special session in midsummer largely to discuss a timeless forest law), M. Menderes takes personal decisions to be obeyed unquestioningly. Factions within the party have arisen more than once but they have never produced a serious rival. The crisis which M. Menderes had to face at the end of 1955 was a serious one, arising from widespread and deeply-felt dissatisfaction with his person and his policies. It was because there was no alternative that he was left to form another Cabinet and again to establish his authority. Promises of democratic and economic reforms have not been fulfilled. The policies, as well as the person remain, and with them the dissatisfaction.

4. Nevertheless if I had to bet on the next elections I should bet on a third victory for the Democrat Party. I need not in this despatch attempt to assess the achievements of the Democrat Government nor the force of popular discontent with the Prime Minister or his party, for I do not think that this will translate itself into a majority of votes for the Opposition. The latter's ability to campaign on terms which will give them a fair chance of success has been seriously affected by the various repressive measures which have been passed since 1954, and in particular those of the present summer limiting freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. Before 1958, when the elections are due, they will probably be further crippled; indeed many people believe that M. Menderes will use his parliamentary majority to have the elections postponed, his argument being that the nation will be able to reap the benefits of his industrial programme and then judge his party fairly only after 1958. But I consider that a more telling reason for

the Opposition's poor prospects is their own weakness.

5. The People's Republican Party has a long and distinguished tradition behind it but its leaders are mostly old men and the party itself gives the impression of being old and without inspiration. M. Ismet Inönü is a spent force and there are even stories that he has agreed to the dissolution of the party in favour of the other Opposition parties. The Secretary-General, M. Kasim Gulek, is younger and extremely energetic; but, in spite of being a very intelligent man, he is theatrical and often frivolous and it is difficult to imagine him as the leader of a successful election campaign. There are no others of consequence. Although the party polled over 3 million votes out of 8 million at the elections of 1954, and a few hundred thousand more would have a quite disproportionate effect on the number of seats it held in the Chamber, it is difficult to imagine it as a Government in power.

6. If the People's Republican Party is too old, the new Freedom Party is too young. Though it has distinguished figure-heads, its leaders are mainly professors and intellectuals between 30 and 40 or even younger. They are intelligent and sincere and much more sympathetic personally than the Democrat leaders and Deputies, but they lack experience and also lack the demagogy of which the Democrat Party has too much. In spite of early progress the Freedom Party has not been very successful at establishing a really national organisation. It has branches in most of the larger towns but has made little impression on the countryside and is very far from commanding the voting strength that will make it an effective parliamentary force. It is in many ways like the British Liberal Party of to-day. It cannot fail to command one's personal sympathies, but that is not enough.

7. The third Opposition party, the Republican National Party, thanks to its leader M. Osman Bolukbasi, has a certain popularity in some of the provinces; but is not a serious force. It contains few men of ability and no real inspiration. Finally none of the three parties has any constructive programme. Their slogan is "Opposition" and they propose little more than to undo much of what the Democrat Party has done. None of them has anything in the nature of a shadow Cabinet, to which the country could look for future leadership. By 1958 they might form some kind of alliance to present a united Opposition front at the elections, if they are not prevented from doing so by partisan laws passed by the party in power. But even this may mean more self-sacrifice than Turkish political leaders are capable of, and even a united front of these three parties, as far as one can see ahead, would have few chances of success against the Democrat Party juggernaut.

8. The prospect ahead then is a continuation of the rule of the Democrat Party and of M. Menderes; and of course this has much to be said for it. In happier circumstances more of the same medicine would be all that could be asked. Unfortunately there is more than a shadow over all aspects of affairs. Though it is M. Menderes who has brought the country into N.A.T.O. as a reliable ally with the most stable Government in the region, his stock abroad suffered seriously from the riots of September last year, for which he must personally bear much of the responsibility, and the stability of his Government has been impaired by his handling of economic affairs and his repressive measures against the Opposition. Though M. Menderes's programme of economic development has done very much for the standard of living of his people and the progress of the country towards a modern State, it is now leading Turkey into serious debt and no clear solution is yet in sight. Foreign help in adequate quantities is still hypothetical, and the National Safeguard Law which has been enacted this summer to limit profit margins is no real answer. Some immediate results in reducing the cost of living have been achieved only at the price of exhausting stocks of imported goods, when there is no new money with which to replace them. Domestically also the small profit margins have discouraged wholesalers from placing new orders with manufacturers.

9. There is, however, a clear distinction to be drawn between M. Menderes's handling of internal and foreign affairs. His foreign policy has been consistently helpful to the United Kingdom both from Turkish self-interest and I think from the conviction that the United Kingdom is a reliable friend. It appears sometimes to be rigid and to take insufficient account of changing circumstances. M. Menderes has of course made some mistakes; his handling of Syria eighteen months ago was clumsy and he must take his share of the

responsibility for the failure in Jordan last December. From Her Majesty's Government's point of view, too, the Turkish Government have been unaccommodating over Cyprus, though a staunch supporter of Britain's position in the island. But he correctly analysed Colonel Nasser's character and ambitions when some others were prepared to think that it was possible to come to satisfactory terms with him; he has been proved right about the unreliability of Archbishop Makarios as a negotiator; he has been entirely consistent in his support for the Bagdad Pact and his reserved and cautious attitude towards the Russian peace offensive has been justified by the events of the last year. He does not of course have to deal with the pressures of articulate and often ill-informed public opinion which so greatly complicate the task of the leaders of the Western democracies; nor does he appear to have much understanding of the fact that the Great Powers cannot move or express themselves with the freedom of some of the smaller Powers. But his analysis of the most important international developments during the last two years, and his prescription for dealing with them, have been right on a surprising number of occasions. And if Turkey has not the means or the resources to influence events on a world scale, under M. Menderes's direction she has looked after her own interests well and played a useful if subsidiary part in promoting the general interests of the free world.

10. It is difficult to draw clear conclusions from the elements of the situation described above. The present Turkish Government is undoubtedly a bad one. This is not for the fact that power is concentrated in the hands of one man of dictatorial tendencies. The Turks respect strong leadership and being as yet unversed in the arts of parliamentary democracy are probably still in need of a steadying hand. It is bad because M. Menderes, though an extremely able man, seems increasingly to regard the suppression of opposition and criticism not so much as a means of carrying through a policy of internal development on lines carefully planned but more as an end in itself. Under his leadership the ideals of the Atatürk revolution seem increasingly to be giving place to opportunism. The field in which this is having the most serious effects is in economic affairs, where his inability to solve the present difficulties is the main cause of his suppressive policy towards the Opposition, and where the continuing lack of planning and co-ordination throws doubt on the longer-term success of the Government's ambitious programme of capital development. In the shorter term we must expect a constant repetition of the minor crises and shortages of the last two years and the same last-minute rescues. Economically Turkey seems set on a course of living from hand to mouth. Only in the field of foreign affairs is the picture brighter. Here M. Menderes has a constructive policy and is clear, precise, resolute and full of good sense. Here he has shown a leadership and a firmness of purpose which has already helped to produce valuable results and given considerable encouragement to other political leaders in the area. As far as our present troubles in the Middle East are concerned we are likely to continue to get firmer support from Turkey under M. Menderes's leadership than under any other probable alternative. We can only hope that his value in this most important respect will not in time be lessened, or seriously threatened, by the effects of his shortcomings in dealing with his country's internal affairs. His popularity in the country has certainly greatly dropped. High prices and shortages combined with resentment against his repressive autocracy have already aroused one dangerous surge of discontent, even within the governing party, and may well produce another. In the present uncertainty of affairs in the Middle East, events outside Turkey might contribute, particularly if Turkish policy were to meet with notable failure, for example, over Cyprus. If a further crisis were to overthrow M. Menderes the result would be a vacuum; I cannot guess who would succeed him.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Political Officer with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

RK 1016/37 No. 15

CORRUPTION IN TURKISH PUBLIC LIFE

Mr. Stewart to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 1)

(No. 164. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *September 25, 1956.*

Sir Michael Wright's despatch No. 182 of the 3rd of July transmitting the text of the Iraqi anti-corruption law has been read with interest in this Embassy and has stimulated some enquiry into the extent of corruption in official quarters in Turkey on which I have the honour to submit the following observations.

2. With the rapid modernisation of Turkey, the tempo of which has markedly increased under M. Menderes' Democrat Party régime, the question arises of the extent to which the old Ottoman ways have been changed, and of whether the corruption that remains is a significant flaw in the fabric of modern reformed Turkey. The extirpation of corruption, patronage and nepotism was not one of the main planks of Atatürk's reform programme. He was, however, swift to abolish those institutions such as tax-farming which were by their nature corrupt. And one of his motives for the transfer of the capital to Ankara was to remove Government servants from the enervating and demoralising atmosphere of Istanbul. But he did not initiate a general campaign against corruption, nor has the problem been tackled seriously by subsequent Turkish leaders.

3. Since the reforms there has been ample reason for corruption by officials, who have always been poorly paid (Deputies are the only well-paid Government dependents and have now become an enviably privileged group among the other professional classes). A British subject who is now working in this Embassy and who has lived in Turkey forty years, tells me that in that time he has met only one minor official whom he considered genuinely incorruptible. The State industries, which have a large share in the economy must offer opportunities for irregularities. And in the last few years the scope has been considerably increased because of the shortage of foreign exchange, and consequently of imported equipment of all kinds, and the multiplicity of import regulations, price limits and other controls connected with the economic crisis.

4. It is difficult to measure the extent of the irregularities. Cases of corruption do not often hit the headlines, but from time to time Ministers have been targets for criticism—for example, the unpopular M. Mükerrem Sarol in December last year. At the beginning of the year there were parliamentary investigations into the conduct, while in office, of four members of the third Menderes Cabinet. Though all four were eventually fully exonerated and restored to the favour of the Prime Minister, and no one will be very surprised to see them returned to office, their exoneration—M. Sarol's in particular—has been regarded with some scepticism and is credibly thought to be one of the principal reasons for Professor Köprulu's resignation from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in June this year.

5. M. Menderes himself was reported from Izmir to have said on one occasion last year that corruption was prevalent in all countries, especially in the United States and the Middle East. He regretted its existence in Turkey but it did not cause him serious concern. When he came to power he had been determined to stamp out these evils, but in the event he found it an impossible task.

6. The Opposition parties have not included an anti-corruption drive in their campaigning programmes, and one would not expect at any rate the People's Republican Party, if returned to power, to make a drive against corruption. The Freedom Party was, however, launched by comparatively high-minded intellectuals who probably have strong views on this subject though they have not taken any stand publicly.

7. My impression is that, while widespread, corruption is not on a large scale, but mostly consists of financial inducements readily offered and accepted as a normal feature of business in order to expedite a permit, clear goods through customs, ensure the grant of a licence or allocation of foreign exchange, secure a

contract, or merely to by-pass some of the interminable complications of Turkish bureaucracy.

8. It is, for example, generally agreed amongst the commercial representatives of foreign missions in Ankara that in Government departments, and particularly in the Ministry of Economy and Commerce, where direct contact with business men is common, there is considerable corruption. More than one visiting business man from Istanbul has mentioned to members of the Commercial Department that such and such a deal which he was trying to arrange at the Ministry " would cost a lot." It is naturally difficult to obtain precise evidence of such cases. Other minor matters concerning the police, customs or immigration officers and other petty officials can usually be facilitated by the offer of a modest *douceur*. There is known to be some abuse of foreign exchange controls by Ministers and senior officials (I was interested to see that the Turkish Minister of Labour drew £1,000 from the Ottoman Bank for one day's shopping while on his recent short visit to the United Kingdom). There are also irregularities in the distribution by special " distribution bureaux " of scarce materials such as tyres, glass, tin plate, &c. Corruption also exists in the Judiciary, as indicated in the memorandum on justice in Turkey prepared by the former honorary legal adviser to the Embassy, copies of which were enclosed in Her Majesty's Ambassador's despatch No. 75 of the 12th of April, 1955.

9. Apart from monetary corruption, nepotism and patronage are both rife. They dominate and damage the Administration at all levels, and there will never be an efficient civil service until they are eradicated. (A new and much-needed law embracing the conditions, pay, benefits and standards of all public servants is now in draft and this may help to raise the level of public administration and even, since it lays stress on merit as a qualification, modify the patronage system; but that remains to be seen.)

10. All these malpractices seem to be accepted by the general public as part of their traditional way of life. They are a minor inconvenience to foreign residents in Turkey, and in such institutions as the English High Schools for Boys and Girls in Istanbul, and are an extra " overhead " for foreign business enterprises working in Turkey. They are one of the features of modern Turkey which is definitely Middle Eastern rather than Western European; they may be expected from time to time to cause minor scandals, and charges of corruption will doubtless continue to be used for the discomfiture of unpopular Ministers; but corruption is not likely in the near future to become an emotional political issue as it has in other Middle Eastern countries; one does not expect to see a real campaign to reduce it by the present Government nor is there any present sign of its becoming an issue in the next general election.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Baghdad and Tehran, and to the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL STEWART.

RK 1105/36 No. 16

THE TURKISH ECONOMIC SITUATION

Mr. Stewart to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 19)

(No. 189 E. Confidential) *Ankara, October 15, 1956.*

Sir,

In his despatch No. 168 of the 12th of September, 1956, on the present situation in Turkey, Her Majesty's Ambassador referred to the state of economic crisis impending, but never quite arriving. I now have the honour to report on the present economic situation in more detail.

2. As Sir James Bowker said in paragraph 8 of his despatch under reference, M. Menderes' Government has done much to improve the standard of living, and to lead Turkey along the road of progress and modernity. But this has been achieved at the cost of serious inflation, with the accumulation of large foreign debts. The problems arising are dealt with *ad hoc*, with a certain cynical opportunism. The extensive and expensive programme of capital development is ill-co-ordinated, and influenced often by political considerations. However, with or without foreign help, it seems clear that the Government, and especially M. Menderes, are determined to press ahead with modernising and industrialising the country. With a perpetually unsatisfied need for more industrial equipment and industrial raw materials, a long period of recurring economic crises and shortages can be envisaged.

3. Turkey will expect her friends, and indeed consider it their duty, to see her through her difficulties. In this connexion, the Turks will undoubtedly try to extract more foreign aid from the fact of their political and strategic usefulness in the world to-day. Somehow, however, they manage to remain dignified albeit shameless debtors. M. Menderes, in a speech at Iskenderun on the 3rd of October, said that internal critics of the Government's heavy investment programme should turn to NATO and say: "Turkey is a formidable bastion upon which extraordinary responsibilities are incumbent . . . . she deserves greater military and economic aid." A recent article in a Turkish newspaper dealing with foreign debts argued that these debts should really be regarded as investments in increased production! In other words, in the long run, the creditors are on a very good thing. In the long run, there may be some truth in it.

4. Meanwhile, to turn from the future to the present, the situation is undoubtedly bad, though in some respects a little better than a year ago. The foreign trade deficit has been reduced, mainly by restriction of imports, especially of consumer goods. The visible deficit at the end of August was £T.249·7 million, as compared with £T.410 million at the end of August 1955. (Deficits for whole year: 1955—£T.516 million; 1954—£T.410·6 million; 1953—£T.382·2 million.) However, export prospects, after two rather poor years, are again not encouraging, the cereals crops being particularly disappointing. Some subsidiary export crops, such as raisins and hazel nuts, are very good, but are not enough to make up the deficiency; and the exporters in any case, are not satisfied with the price they receive and are holding back. As regards wheat, Turkey has asked the United States for no less than 600,000 tons. Turkish high prices still make exports difficult and there is constant pressure for the grant of special export premiums.

5. In the internal market there is inflation, and a general shortage of imported goods, which is having its effect on local industries dependent upon imported raw materials. In the past year the Government have taken a series of measures in an attempt to restrain the inflation. Credit has been restricted, the Bank rediscount rate being raised on the 6th of June from 4½ per cent. to 6 per cent. Limitations have been put on new capital expenditure and the rate of new investment has slowed down. On paper the budget estimates provide for a balance, but there is no sign of serious retrenchment. Amendments to the National Safeguard Law passed in June were designed to limit profit margins, under threat of severe penalties. These measures have had some effect in bringing down prices, but the attempt to manage economic affairs by decree has had unfortunate results in other directions. Imported goods have disappeared, and many local manufacturers and middlemen are in difficulties owing to heavy falls in demand against the expectation of prices falling lower. The arbitrary fixing of profit margins has in many cases needed subsequent

modification and revision. Factories in Istanbul and elsewhere, particularly textile mills, have been hard hit by decreased demand. In the past three months the number of unemployed has risen appreciably, although the authorities have tried to minimise it. Importing firms especially have suffered. The local subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries in Istanbul, for example, which invested a few years ago in fine new warehouse and office premises, has had to cut down its personnel from over 90 to under 40, and they have virtually no stocks to sell.

6. The degree of inflation can be seen in the following figures relating to the Turkish note circulation:—

Year	*£T. Million*
January 1953	1,240
January 1954	1,414
January 1955	1,426
January 1956	1,913
September 1956	2,225

This great increase in spending power has not been matched by greater production. Turkey is still lamentably deficient in the manufacture of many basic consumer goods. The lack of imports has led to serious shortages in tyres, motor car spare parts and other essential goods. Coffee is very scarce; a recent consignment reaching Ankara was put on sale at £T.15·18 per kilo, or nearly £2. However the effect of the National Safeguards Law since June has been to hold prices more stable than for some time past, but with a lower level of activity in the market. It is generally accepted that many firms and individuals had been making excessive profits, and some check was necessary. Whether the Government can hold the position until goods become plentiful is questionable. Symptomatically, the black market rates for foreign currency, which fell quite sharply after the passing of the National Safeguard Law in June, have again begun to rise. (Black market rates for United States dollar: January 1956—£T.10=U.S.$1. May, £T.13·00; June, £T.11·80; July, £T.8·60; September £T.9·90. N.B. official rates—U.S.$1·00= £T.2·80, £ sterling £T.7·84.) The Shell cost-of-living index (1939=100) was 864·37 at the end of August, the comparable figures for August 1955 being 757·98 and for January 1955, 672·44.

7. This autumn, as in previous years, M. Menderes has been touring the country and making speeches extolling his Government's achievements. In the economic field they are in many ways impressive when viewed statistically. In the past few years there has been a tremendous increase in road building, with some really first-class modern highways now built or under construction between some of the major towns. Admittedly, much of the highway construction has been financed by United States aid as part of a military programme. However, the construction of roads has been one of the most important factors in opening up the country and creating new trade and industrial opportunities. Electric power output is rising rapidly with the construction of a series of new thermal and hydro-electric power stations. Transmission lines are radiating across the country. New ports and wharves are being built, notably at Istanbul, Haydar-Pasa (on the Asian side of the Bosphorus), Mersin, Samsun, Zonguldak and Iskenderun. The Karabük Steel Works (originally British-built) are to be enlarged by Krupps to bring steel production up to 400,00 tons. New airfields have been built, the fine new Ankara airfield at Esenboga being formally opened on May 31. 18 new cement factories are being built or have been completed, giving a production capacity by 1958 of 2 million tons per annum compared with 380,000 tons produced in 1949. 11 new sugar refineries (for beet sugar) have been constructed, giving a production capacity of 400,000–450,000 tons of refined sugar. Annual sugar consumption has been on the increase for several years and is now running around 325,000 tons, against total production in 1950 of only 100,000 tons. This year 20,000 tons of sugar are reported to be available for export. Large sums have been invested in new textile mills, whose production is now sufficient for the country's present needs. New rolling stock has been acquired for the railways, and the Turkish merchant marine has been increased during the past year by several new units, including a 21,300-ton tanker, built in Japan.

8. To supplement her resources, and to reduce expenditure of foreign exchange on oil and oil products (currently estimated at U.S.$60–U.S.$70 million annually), Turkey is making great efforts to find oil. Full credit is due

to M. Menderes for amending the Petroleum Law to allow foreign firms to prospect, and for encouraging foreign capital to participate in Turkey's development. 12 American and British firms have obtained oil concessions, and on October 3 M. Menderes attended the first actual drilling of a foreign oil company, near Iskenderun. Whether oil will be found or not is uncertain, but at least Turkey has adopted a realistic outlook, and realised she cannot find and develop potential oil deposits from her own resources.

9. The most pressing need, if Turkey's programme of development is to be maintained, is foreign help. Hitherto, she has obtained such help in two ways—by direct financial and economic aid from the United States, and, indirectly, by stretching her credit to the utmost with her main European trading partners. Without United States economic aid which, under the International Co-operation Administration and its predecessors has totalled over U.S.$700 million since 1947, Turkey could not have spent such a large portion of her resources on economic development. It is particularly by relieving the burden of military expenditure on the budget that United States aid has been of such significant value. As a result of increased production, and better transportation and communication facilities, with an altogether higher level of economic activity, Turkish budgetary expenditure almost doubled from 1950–55. United States help is still continuing, and economic aid during the current year is likely to be at about the same level as in 1955–56: $130 million.

10. The indirect help Turkey has been receiving by exhausting the credit, and patience of her trading partners such as the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and Italy is considerable. Much capital equipment has been acquired, and not yet paid for, and capital projects financed and constructed by foreign firms are in hand for a very large total in foreign exchange. The International Monetary Fund delegation which visited Turkey in April estimated the country's total foreign debt at $1,121 million; made up as follows:—

	$ Million
Public debts	509
Credit imports	257
Commercial arrears	179
Debts to foreign banks	151
Bilateral credits	25
Total	1,121

About U.S.$150 million is due to E.P.U. countries in respect of commercial arrears, of this sum about $50 million being due to the United Kingdom and over $60 million to West Germany. These will have to be settled one day, but in the meantime a proportion of Turkey's foreign earnings is being devoted to settling these arrears. The danger is that new commitments for essential supplies and equipment continue to outstrip the rate of repayment. So far the Turks have shown considerable adroitness in playing their creditors, but there is little scope left for manoeuvre. Thus it is that in the past two years Turkey has turned to the Soviet Union and the satellites, who are prepared to trade on a strictly bilateral basis, supplying goods and purchasing Turkish produce at mutually fictitious prices. The value of Turkey's trade with the USSR and the satellite countries in 1955 was 172·5 per cent. higher than in 1953. The disadvantages of this method of trading are gradually being realised by the Turks, who have no wish to tie themselves up too closely with the Communist trade *bloc*.

11. There is no sign of any co-ordinated plan to deal with the present financial and economic problems. M. Menderes has committed himself politically to bringing economic progress to his country. Increasingly, he has centred authority in his hands (the post of Minister of Finance has been vacant since August 25 and he holds it *ad interim*), and imposes his decisions. He is reluctant to accept advice, or to slow down the tempo of modernisation. It will be recalled that in the summer of last year the Turks asked the Americans for a loan of U.S.$300 million, but it was made clear to M. Menderes that no additional help would be forthcoming unless he definitely undertook to introduce certain measures of economy. Some steps have been taken, as described in paragraph 5 above, but they are more palliative than radical. In February Mr. Clarence Randall, President Eisenhower's economic adviser, visited Turkey to study the situation, at the joint invitation of the Turkish

and American Governments, but he gave no encouragement as to the possibility of a substantial United States loan. In April a delegation of the International Monetary Fund arrived for Article XIV consultations, following which it was strongly rumoured that a system of multiple rates for imports and exports would be introduced, thus virtually devaluing the overpriced Turkish pound. Nothing happened, however, and with the fall of prices following the passing of amendments to the National Safeguard Law in June (see paragraph 5 above) M. Menderes seems to have been encouraged to believe that his difficulties would ease, the more so since the export season was beginning. In speeches made during September he boasted that Turkey had come through without a United States loan, although critics of the régime had said that without such help the Government was ruined.

12. The recent deterioration in crop prospects, with the likelihood of lower export earnings, will probably revive the pressure for further foreign help, especially from the United States. It may also have prompted the recent decision to introduce a " tourist " rate of exchange, as announced in a decree dated October 8. This first significant breach in the wall of the Turkish currency is not openly admitted, the granting of a special rate (£T.5·25 to the United States dollar against the black market rate of about £T.9·60) being disguised as part of the " déblocage " system. Officially the Government is still against formal devaluation. It is too early to assess the effect of this decree, but it cannot help substantially. All the indications are that 1957 is going to be a very difficult year for Turkey.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, the Treasury, and the Export Credits Guarantee Department.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL STEWART.

RK 1016/42 No. 17

PROGRESS OF THE TURKISH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Mr. James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received November 12*)

(No. 200. Confidential.) *Ankara,*
Sir, *November 6, 1956.*

I have the honour to inform you that on the 1st of November the President of Turkey, M. Celal Bayar, opened the Third Session of the Tenth Turkish Grand National Assembly. With this despatch I am enclosing a summary(1) of that portion of the President's speech devoted to domestic and economic affairs. In my following despatch I am summarising separately the President's remarks on foreign affairs.

2. As in previous years the domestic part of the President's speech consisted almost entirely of a catalogue of the achievements of the Democrat Party Government since it came to power in 1950. Though they make it rather long I am including in the enclosed summary the figures quoted by President Bayar to illustrate these achievements since they do give an indication of the economic and other progress of the Turkish nation since 1950, and may be useful for reference.

3. I reported last year (in my despatch No. 225 of 7th of November) that the occasion is not an exciting one, and this year was no exception. The Prime Minister was absent through illness, as also were the Leader of the People's Republican Party M. Ismet Inonu (he is said not to like standing up when the President enters the Chamber) and of the Freedom Party, M. Karaosmanoglu. In fact very few Opposition deputies from any of the three Parties were present, and as was to be expected seeing that he was speaking almost to a meeting of his own party this part of and indeed all the President's speech was well received. Many passages were applauded and the clapping was particularly loud and prolonged when the President said that United States military aid for 1955–56 amounted to 200 million dollars.

4. Impressive development is taking place in Turkey. Three salient points should be noted. First, the President stated categorically in his speech that with regard to foreign trade, there was no question of any devaluation of the Turkish currency. This, taken in conjunction with the admission of a relative failure of the cereal crops and the necessity to import cereals, means that Turkey's adverse balance of payments will continue and will probably aggravate. Second, Turkey is now rapidly completing the basic equipment required for an accelerated development of industrialisation. Cement productive capacity is being vastly increased, electrical power developed, and communications, especially roads and ports, improved. The iron and steel output is being enlarged. Third, it must be realised that the increased output of goods, power and services is nearly all easily absorbed within Turkey itself. While it is hoped that foreign oil exploitation in Turkey will in a few years greatly help the Turkish economy, the fact is that there has been no significant increase in recent years in Turkey's export potential, which is necessary if more imports are to be provided. New wants and tastes have been created, and though the output of the oil refinery at Batman is now somewhat reducing imports of Turkey's requirements of petroleum products, on the whole the establishment of new industries in response to these desires has led to an increase in the standard of living, which in turn entails increasing demand for more raw materials, machinery, transport and communication facilities, much of which has to come from abroad.

5. Thus, despite the great progress and achievements recorded in the President's speech, Turkey is still far from solving her difficulties. The average Turk is still very poor and there is a widespread shortage of consumer goods. This is the point that is consistently ignored, not only in this speech, but in all the public statements of leaders of the Democrat Party.

6. To turn to the details of the President's speech, he began by referring to the Law on the Protection of the National Economy, which, he stated, has consolidated the commercial morality. This Law had undoubtedly had some effect

(1) Not printed.

in temporarily stabilising prices, but already the effect is wearing off and the Government have been obliged to modify the provisions of the Law considerably in reply to the complaints of the business community. There are signs that a new cycle of price rises is about to begin. Furthermore the application of the Law has led to the creation of a burdensome administrative machinery, and, as is inevitable, led to new forms of evasion. The commercial morality is basically unchanged.

7. In his remarks about development in the field of health and education, the President quoted figures of hospital beds in Turkey. The number of hospital beds in relation to the population is less than one-twentieth of that in the United Kingdom, which shows how far Turkey still has to go. In education, although illiteracy is still high, it is mainly so among the older people. The percentage of literacy is beginning to improve more rapidly.

8. With regard to crops, the President admitted that after two years of insufficient harvests, Turkey has again suffered from drought and will be obliged to import cereals to meet the country's needs. It is unfortunate that the fact of being, by purely fortuitous circumstances, the world's fourth largest exporter of wheat a few years ago, has created the impression that Turkey is a wheat exporting country. In fact, wheat is normally both exported and imported. Given better communications, it is unlikely that there would be any considerable exportable surpluses of wheat since there is ample scope for higher consumption within the country. This year there seems to have been an inexplicable failure to realise that the wheat crop would be short until the moment of harvesting had arrived. It is unlikely that within the next few years Turkey's wheat position will improve. There has been too facile an exploitation of the soil and without more widespread use of fertilisers no great increase can be expected. The policy of building large sugar beet refineries and encouraging the planting of sugar beet is also of questionable wisdom since much of the land is not well adapted to beet growing and could more usefully be put to other purposes.

9. In the field of communications, there has been very real and substantial progress, as is shown by President Bayar's figures. The length of all-weather roads has increased from 17,465 km. in 1950 to 33,000 km. in 1956, and asphalt-surfaced roads from 1,624 km. to 3,500 km. It must be remembered however that the road construction programme has been largely financed by American money. The development in construction of new ports is also impressive and no doubt of value. The railway system, however, is still inadequate for the country's needs. Nevertheless taken as a whole, the improvement in communications in the last few years has given a tremendous encouragement to the freer movement of goods, as well as an incentive to produce more. This, more than anything is helping to awaken the country, and to send blood coursing through its economic veins, as well as to broaden slightly the narrow horizon of the agricultural population.

10. The figures for the generation of electric power show that by 1958 production will have increased more than five-fold since 1950, from 790 kWh. in 1950 to 4,000 kWh. in 1958. The new thermal and hydro-electric power stations being built are linked with industrial centres and big cities by transmission lines and will undoubtedly give a big impulse to greater industrialisation.

11. With regard to business activity the figures quoted by the President make no reference to the inflation in Turkey and give a slightly misleading impression. The increase in Bank credits to £T.6,370 million in 1956 compared with £T.1,589 million in 1950 (an increase of 300 per cent.) is to a large extent a reflection of the inflation, though not entirely so. (The official cost of living index for Ankara shows a rise of 54 per cent. between 1950 and 1956 though the actual rise is greater than this it is not anything like 300 per cent.) The President also referred to the encouragement of foreign capital investment and to recent modifications in the Law governing this. Foreign investment in Turkey is still relatively limited and likely to remain so as long as there are no adequate guarantees for the free transfer of profits, and freedom from governmental interference.

12. In his remarks about foreign trade, President Bayar referred to the Government's efforts to " regularise " exports in order to increase the earnings of foreign exchange and to ensure better means of meeting payments abroad. This glosses over Turkey's difficulties in increasing her exports adequately. There has been little improvement in the balance of payments during the present year ; if anything the overall position is slightly worse, taking into account the poor harvest.

Exports for the first nine months of this year are running only fractionally higher than those for the same period in 1955, and imports have been slightly reduced. But, if Turkey had to pay in foreign exchange for the 600,000 tons of wheat she hopes to get from the United States under the Agricultural Surpluses Act, her position would indeed be serious. The categorical statement that the Turkish lira will not be devalued will be useful in dissipating the uncertainty which has prevailed around this question since a " tourist lira ", at approximately twice the official rate of exchange, was introduced at the beginning of October.

13. With regard to basic capital development, the figures quoted by the President show very real progress. Cement in particular is one of the basic pillars of a country's development, and the increase from 375,000 tons in 1950 to a planned output of 2,500,000 tons in 1957 is remarkable. The increase in iron and steel production is not so impressive, and it must be remembered that this is a very high cost and at present rather inefficient industry. It is notable that the President gave no statistics about other industrial development, such as chemicals and machinery to which he referred in general terms. He did, however, state that the Government were returning some enterprises to private hands. This is a welcome move, since the State-run concerns have on the whole been managed in an extravagant and uneconomic manner.

14. The President finally referred to the increase in State Revenue which, he claimed, reflected the economic development of the country. This is only partially true, since it does not take full account of inflationary factors in the situation. However, an increase in budgetary expenditure from £T.1,300 millions in 1950 to £T.3,324 millions in 1956 does show statistically that this Government is far more active than its predecessor.

15. As in previous years the speech contained very little in the nature of a programme. In so far as the Government have a programme at all, it seems to be to do as much as they can with money from wherever they can get it, and to hope for the best. From this ill-co-ordinated whole much positive advance can now be seen. There is a ferment discernible, which with more money and better direction from above, could lead to very rapid progress.

I am sending copies of this despatch to the Treasury, the Board of Trade and to the Political Office with Middle East Forces.

I have &c.,

JAMES BOWKER.

RG 1081/257a

No. 18

THE TURKISH REACTION TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSALS FOR CYPRUS

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 31)

(No. 234. Confidential) *Ankara,*
Sir, *December 28, 1956.*

In my telegram No. 1149 I communicated the text of the statement issued by the Turkish Government to the Anatolian Agency on the subject of Lord Radcliffe's report on a Constitution for Cyprus and the statement of policy made by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on the 19th of December. In formulating the statement the Turkish Prime Minister took pains to include the three points which Her Majesty's Government had expressed the hope to see incorporated in any Turkish commentary on the subject (your telegram No. 2429). The statement undoubtedly reflects M. Menderes's desire to fulfil his assurance given to Mr. Lennox-Boyd in Istanbul on the 16th of December that Turkey was anxious to be positive and helpful over this issue and that, provided Her Majesty's Government could agree to make the reference to partition in their statement of policy more positive, the proposals would have Turkey's full acquiescence.

2. If the Turkish Government's immediate response to Her Majesty's Government's proposals has been satisfactory, it is undoubtedly due to the reference in Her Majesty's Government's statement of policy to partition as a possible ultimate solution of the Cyprus problem. By thus barring the road to Enosis, Her Majesty's Government have removed Turkey's main objection to a Constitution as being likely to be exploited by the Greek Cypriots and the Greek Government as a means of achieving union of the Island with Greece. You will recall what scant enthusiasm M. Menderes showed for the idea of a Constitution when you communicated to him Lord Radcliffe's report in Paris on the 13th of December, and the ardour with which he advocated partition as the only effective solution. It was noticeable, moreover, during the exposition of Lord Radcliffe's report and Her Majesty's Government's policy given by Mr. Lennox-Boyd to M. Menderes in Istanbul, that the latter's interest was effectively aroused only at the point where reference was made to the possibility of partition. The Turkish Government in fact regard the present proposals as in the nature of a bargain, whereby they have accepted the idea of a Constitution in return for Her Majesty's Government's acceptance of the principle of partition. As M. Menderes made plain during his conversation with Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Turkish Government still regard a Constitution as impracticable and hope that in what they regard as the likely event of the present proposals being finally rejected by the Greeks, Her Majesty's Government will drop the idea of a Constitution and replace it by the concept of integral self-determination to be applied when the international situation and strategic conditions allow. As regards the actual implementation of partition, the Turkish Government's ideas, though probably very different from those of the Greeks, are, I think, still very vague and they tend to minimise the many obvious practical, economic and human objections to such a solution. Meanwhile, however, the Turkish Government show every sign of honouring the bargain. As I have already reported, they have entrusted a lawyer and a former Minister with the task of preparing a report on Lord Radcliffe's proposals, and they have summoned the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community to Ankara to give them the necessary guidance. As I have also reported, there is reason to believe that the Turkish Government will welcome an opportunity of consultation with Lord Radcliffe himself, if that is considered appropriate, before reaching their final conclusions about the Constitution. Their acceptance of Her Majesty's Government's proposals as a basis for a final settlement has no doubt been

encouraged by their summary rejection by the Greek Government. While the Greek attitude seems to the Turks to constitute an effective obstacle to the introduction of a Constitution, it gives them a welcome opportunity of appearing before world opinion in a more favourable and accommodating light.

3. The attitude of the Turkish public to Lord Radcliffe's proposals and Mr. Lennox-Boyd's statement of policy have been determined by the attitude of the Turkish Government. Most newspaper editors waited for a lead before commenting and then, whatever their political party, followed the Government's line of general agreement with Her Majesty's Government's policy. Turks, when questioned about the proposals, concede that they do in theory go far to protect the Turkish minority. But they display their habitual lack of confidence in the ability of the Cypriot Turk and there is a general feeling that the Greek Cypriots, who have already an overwhelming majority in the Assembly, will get things their own way, in spite of all constitutional safeguards. Nevertheless, because Her Majesty's Government have reaffirmed British sovereignty over Cyprus, at any rate for the near future, Turkish opinion is relieved to find that the island will remain in friendly hands. And the violent Greek reaction has persuaded opinion here that Turkish interests have not been sacrificed, though Turks are not confident that these "spoilt children of the British" will not eventually obtain further concessions. Finally the mention of partition as one of the eventual possible options has probably convinced Turkish opinion that even if the Greek Cypriots manage to manipulate a Constitution on the Radcliffe model into Enosis, the Turkish minority is still not lost.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Governor of Cyprus, Her Majesty's Representatives at Athens and Washington and to the Heads of the United Kingdom Delegations at New York and Paris.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

RK 1901/35 No. 19

TURKEY: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir James Bowker to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received September 10)

(No. 166. Confidential) *Istanbul,*
Sir, *September 1, 1956.*

I have the honour to send you herewith my report on Heads of Foreign Missions at Ankara.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

Enclosure

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports.)

Afghanistan

General Assadollah Khan Seraj; Ambassador (2nd of January, 1951).

Born in 1911. Assadollah Khan is a brother of King Amanullah and a cousin of the present King of Afghanistan. In 1937 he represented the King at the Coronation in London. Became Inspector-General of the Afghan Army in 1939 and the Chief of the General Staff in 1946. From 1948 until his mission to Turkey he was Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister. He is now accredited also to Belgrade, where he presented his credentials in March 1956.

He was educated at a French school in Kabul and speaks fluent French and some English. He seems well enough disposed towards Britain. Though regarded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as rather a joke, he has shown eagerness to promote an understanding between his country and Pakistan and he personally supported with the Turkish Prime Minister the idea of Turkey's good offices being used towards a high level meeting. He has a good social manner and plays tennis and bridge, but is something of a bore. His wife, who is also a member of the Afghan Royal Family, speaks no Western language. Of their six children two of the daughters, who are studying at the Ankara University, are with them.

Argentina

M. Leguizamon left Turkey in June 1956 and the Embassy has since been in the charge of the Counsellor of the Argentine Embassy in Paris, M. Luis F. Castells, who has been seconded to Ankara until the appointment of a new Ambassador.

Austria

M. Erich Bielka Karltreu; Minister (6th of March, 1952).

*Born about 1904. M. Karlteeu is a product of the old Austrian Consular College and is also accredited to Tehran and Kabul. He spent the war as an *émigré* in Switzerland and in 1945 reconstituted the Austrian Mission at Berne. Later he served on the O.E.E.C. Delegation at Cairo and afterwards as Assistant to the Secretary-General in the Austrian Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

*He is an agreeable bachelor, speaking French and English. He is very well disposed, entertains well, and is generally popular. (Written in 1955.)

Belgium

M. Gérard Walravens; Minister (13th of April, 1955), Ambassador (14th of September, 1955).

Born in 1909. Before his appointment to Ankara as Minister (the post was then a legation) in April 1955, he was Head of the N.A.T.O. Department of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He earlier served twice at the Belgian Embassy in London, on the first occasion under Baron Cartier de Marchienne and later as Counsellor from 1945 to 1950. I understand that he was considered for the post of Secretary-General of Western European Union, but was appointed to Ankara instead, somewhat I think to his disappointment, which was perhaps assuaged when the post was raised to an embassy.

M. Walravens speaks fluent English, German and Spanish. Intelligent, cynical and indiscreet, he is something of an *enfant terrible* with the adolescent quality of liking to show off and to air his already remarkable knowledge of Turkish which in moments of confidence he admits to have acquired in the manner habitually recommended to bachelors. He is outspokenly Anglophil. His wife, a Chilean, is pleasant but not very exciting and spends her spare time playing cards. They entertain well. They have a son and daughter, both of teen-age.

Brazil

M. Nemesio Dutra; Minister (1st of June, 1956).

Born in 1894 and educated at the Law Faculty at Rio de Janeiro. He is a career member of the Brazilian Foreign Service and before his present appointment was Ambassador at Haiti.

Cadaverous and distinguished in appearance and correct and friendly in manner, he leads a quiet and, I should think, not a very busy life. His wife is good looking but rather aloof and seems in no hurry to pay her formal visits on the wives of her husband's colleagues.

Bulgaria

M. Bogdanov and his successor, M. Tarabanov, have both left and the legation has been in the charge of M. Tego Ivanov Koyumdjiev, Counsellor, since June 1956.

Chile

Dr. Samuel Avendano Sepulveda; Minister (9th of April, 1953).

*Born about 1898. This is Dr. Avendano's first diplomatic appointment. Previously he had practised medicine at Valparaiso, where he was president of the Agrarian Labour Party. He is accredited also to Israel.

*Dr. Avendano turns up regularly at official functions, but otherwise lives a somewhat retired life with his family. He talks indifferent English and his wife little but Spanish. Both are agreeable and friendly. They have six children, of whom the two youngest are with them here. (Written in 1955.)

China

Dr. Li Ti-tsun; Ambassador (16th of June, 1947).

*Dr. Li Ti-tsun, whose previous post was Havana, is the senior foreign diplomatic representative in Turkey. In the case of those missions which do not recognise the Nationalist Government his contacts are conducted through the Italian Ambassador, the next senior. (Written in 1955.)

After living in a small villa since 1950, the Li Ti-tsuns recently returned to the former Chinese Embassy. Both are intelligent and well liked, speak good English and are seen much in Ankara society. Mme. Li has learnt Turkish. I exchanged informal calls with Dr. Li after my arrival and our relations have remained unofficial, though friendly. He is somewhat touchy about his position and I had to resist on my arrival an attempt on his part to include me among his official flock. He has recently recovered from a serious intestinal illness.

Cuba

M. Luis F. de Almagro; Minister (25th of February, 1953).

*M. Almagro resides in Cairo and has a number of other posts. He left Ankara immediately after presenting his credentials and without paying calls. (Written in 1953.)

*M. Almagro has not been to Ankara since I arrived. The Protocol Department of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed privately in 1955 that there had been some scandal about him, thought to be connected with smuggling goods out of Egypt, but that "as far as they knew" he was still accredited here. (Written in 1955.) I have heard nothing of him since.

Czechoslovakia

M. Jaroslav Kvacek; Minister (19th of October, 1955).

Born about 1906. Is a lawyer by profession and before the war was legal adviser to the boot-manufacturing firm of Bata. His first diplomatic appointment was as Consul-General at Djakarta, after which he returned to Prague as Head of the Middle East Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ankara is his first direct contact with the Middle East.

Tall, square-headed and rather solemn, he talks a little French and English and, I should expect, better German. His wife has gone out of her way to be friendly.

Denmark

M. Hugo Hergel; Minister (13th of December, 1954), Ambassador (7th of May, 1956).

*Born about 1898. M. Hergel is accredited also to Greece and Israel. He is a career diplomatist and before coming to Ankara was for four years Danish Minister in Moscow, previous to which he was for three years Minister at Bucharest, accredited also to Sofia and Belgrade. He earlier served for several years in Japan. He has no previous experience of the Middle East.

*M. Hergel is distinguished-looking, correct and friendly, though not particularly interesting. He speaks English and French. His wife is Canadian and speaks French. I understand they suffer from a domestic tragedy as their daughter is in a mental asylum in England. (Written in 1955.)

Egypt

The new Ambassador, M. Husain Chaleb Rouchdy, has not yet taken up his post and the embassy has been in the charge of M. Osman Aly Asal, First Secretary, since January, 1956.

Finland

M. Bruno Rafael Kivikoski; Minister (8th of April, 1954).

*Born in 1892 of a Swedish-speaking family whose name was changed in 1906 by translation into its present Finnish form. After studying in England and France, M. Kivikoski served in Washington and the Netherlands. From 1935 to 1939 he was in the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later became Finnish Minister in Warsaw (1939) and Bucharest (1939 to 1941). Before his appointment to Ankara he had served continuously for twelve years as Chef de Cabinet to the President of Finland, of whom he is an old friend. I understand that, anxious for a change, he had to ask insistently for an appointment abroad.

*M. Kivikoski talks quite good English and he is stolid and friendly. He is a bachelor. He is accredited also to Beirut, Damascus, Teheran and Karachi. (Written in 1955.)

France

M. Jean Paul Garnier; Ambassador (14th of November, 1955).

Born in 1904. M. Garnier served before the war at Warsaw, Rome and the Quai d'Orsay. He offered his resignation from the Service in 1942, but this was refused. He played an active part in the Resistance and returned to the Quai d'Orsay in 1944. Later he served in Berne and Prague, as Assistant Secretary-General at the Paris Conference of 1946 and on the Inspectorate-General of the Quai d'Orsay. He became Head of Personnel in 1947, and in 1948 a member of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations General Assembly. Before coming to Ankara he was Ambassador at The Hague.

Poujadist in appearance, M. Garnier is a mine of detailed information and a tireless talker. He is intelligent and very active but is inclined to use somewhat shock tactics to obtain information and I would not have complete confidence that he always passes it on exactly as given. He shows a rather tiring anxiety to parade his merits and to shine in society. He married only in 1955. His wife, who I believe was formerly married to a rich industrialist, is a particularly agreeable woman and dresses elegantly. Both are extremely friendly.

Germany

The new Ambassador, M. Fritz Oellers, has not yet arrived, and since February 1956 the embassy has been in the charge of the Counsellor, M. Siegfried von Nostitz.

Greece

M. Jean D. Kalergis; Ambassador (14th of January, 1954).

*Born about 1902. Before his appointment to Ankara M. Kalergis was Counsellor-Minister in Washington from 1949.

M. Kalergis was put in an embarrassing position shortly after his arrival in Ankara by being kept uninformed by the Turkish Government of the decision to convert the Balkan Pact into an alliance, taken during Marshal Tito's visit to Ankara in March 1954. After an initial manifestation of his discomfiture in the presence of press representatives he bore himself with calm and dignity. Over the Cyprus issue his activities have been restricted mostly to carrying out, somewhat apologetically, such instructions as he receives from his Government. This issue has not affected our personal relations. He is not a striking personality, nor has he the reputation with the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs of being particularly bright. He is a bachelor and speaks good English, and like most Greeks, is a crack bridge player.

Hungary

M. Istvan Murai; Minister (31st of January, 1955).

M. Murai has been away from Ankara a good deal since he arrived and I have seen practically nothing of him. I understand he is now to be replaced.

Iran

M. Ali Mansour, C.B.E.; Ambassador (9th of November, 1953).

Also accredited to Greece.

*Born about 1888. Began his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and rose to be Under-Secretary in 1919. Appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted, August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines, August 1938. Selected by Risa Shah for the post of Prime Minister, June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on August 25, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khorasan, February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khorasan in the autumn of 1945. Governor-General, Azerbaijan, December 1946–July 1948. Elected to the Constituent Assembly from Tehran, April 1949. President of the Council of the Seven-Year Plan, May 1949. (Written in 1955.)

*An elderly and old-fashioned type of Iranian. Thin, bald, quiet-mannered and courteous. He expresses warm friendship and esteem for Britain which he affirms to be the country best fitted to help in the rehabilitation of Iran, a process which he holds will require a number of years of systematic work. He is slow and heavy in the hand at parties. He talks good English. His kindly and pleasant wife talks fair English. They entertain frequently and generously. They have grown-up children, including a son in the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some grandchildren. (Written in 1955.)

Iraq

M. Shakir el Wadi, M.V.O.; Ambassador (19th of April, 1956)

Born in 1894. A Sunni Muslim. Was an officer in the Turkish Army from 1915 to the Armistice. Joined the Iraqi Army in 1921 and served on the staff of King Faisal on his State visit to Britain in 1933. In 1936 appointed G.S.O.I. in the Kirkuk Division of which Bekr Sidqi was the G.O.C. and was the latter's right-hand man in the 1936 *coup d'état*. Appointed military attaché in London after the murder of Bekr Sidqi in 1937, but a few weeks later was dismissed and placed on the retired list. Second Secretary at the Iraqi Legation in Tehran in 1939 and as Chargé d'Affaires there carried out the instructions of Rashid Ali's rebel Government. Served later at Jerusalem, and London. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace, 1946, and thereafter held a number of ministerial posts under various Prime Ministers. Appointed a Senator in 1949.

He has the appearance of a rather distinguished *ancien roué*. He talks quite good English and appears genuinely friendly and anxious to work for the cause of the Baghdad Pact and for close Anglo-Iraqi association. He seemed quickly after his arrival to have sized up his Arab State colleagues and to be talking to them on sensible lines. His wife has recently joined him but has not yet made a public appearance.

Israel

M. Maurice Fischer; Minister (4th of June, 1953).

*M. Fischer was born in Belgium in 1903 and first went to Palestine in 1930. After fighting with the Free French Forces in the Lebanon he went to Paris in 1946 as the Representative of the Jewish Agency. On the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 he became accredited Minister. (Written in 1953.)

M. Fischer is cultured and intelligent, but also highly-strung and emotional and he has taken the recent set-back in Turco-Israeli relations, resulting from the Turco-Iraqi Pact and the Exchange of Letters about the Palestine Resolutions, more acutely to heart than his Government seem to have done. The Turks find his constant jeremiads embarrassing and somewhat tedious. He speaks excellent French and good English and German. He is fond of music and is a talented pianist. Both he and his good-looking wife, who also speaks English, French and German, are popular in Ankara society. They have one small daughter. (Written in 1955.)

Italy

Count Luca Pietromarchi; Ambassador (23rd of October, 1950).

*Born about 1892. Count Pietromarchi was chief of the Italian Economic Blockade Department before the war when he showed ready co-operation with the British. During the war he was Chef de Cabinet to Count Ciano. Retired to Brazil after the war whence he was recalled by Count Sforza to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Written in 1955.)

An able and experienced career diplomatist, Count Pietromarchi handled with skill his country's affairs here during the difficult period of the Trieste dispute and the negotiations for the Balkan Alliance. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he has the reputation of being an intelligent observer. Despite his Fascist background he is outspokenly and, I think, genuinely Anglophil. He is a most friendly and co-operative colleague. In the latter part of 1955 his name was put forward by his Government for the post of Deputy Secretary-General of N.A.T.O., but he was not selected. After six years in Ankara I imagine he would welcome a new post appropriate to his seniority and experience. His wife, of Jewish origin, is vague and inconsequential to the point of eccentricity, but very friendly. I should imagine that her efforts to get her husband appointed to London have not done him much service in Rome. The Pietromarchis are a distinguished-looking couple, he white-haired and dapper and she a handsome Titian. Both talk French and English. They have a son who has just entered the Italian Foreign Service and a teen-age daughter here. (Written in 1955.)

Japan

M. Shinishi Kamimura; Ambassador (4th of June, 1953).

*M. Kamimura is Japan's first post-war representative in Turkey. Born in 1896, he has been in the Japanese Foreign Service since 1921. At the outbreak of war he was Counsellor in London and afterwards served in Moscow. After the Japanese surrender he was interned for two years by the Soviet authorities. He came to Ankara from Washington where he was Minister-Counsellor. (Written in 1953.) He is accredited also to Israel.

*M. Kamimura is well-disposed though less expansive than his wife, who talks enthusiastically of all things English and points to the English furnishings of their new Embassy. She was educated at the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Tokyo, and is a keen tennis player. Both talk good

English. They have two grown-up sons who are completing their education in the United States. (Written in 1955.)

Jordan

Sherif Abdul Mejid Haidar; Ambassador (1st of June, 1955).

*Born in 1885. The Amir, eldest son of the Sherif Ali of Mecca, is Head of the Dhawi Zeid section of the Hashemite family. He lived in Turkey prior to and during the 1918 war but was expelled from Turkey and deprived of his Turkish nationality by Atatürk and settled at Beirut, where he lived in straitened circumstances. He assumed Jordan nationality in 1946 and was appointed first Jordan Minister Plenipotentiary in London shortly afterwards. In 1951 he was transferred to Paris.

*Though distinguished in appearance and very friendly in manner, Amir Abdul Mejid Haidar is a bore, particularly on the subject of his family, to which he constantly reverts. I believe his appointment to Ankara was the result of his own importunacy with King Hussein and the latter's wish to find him a job. He has lived hardly at all in Jordan and has little real contact with personalities and events there. He and his brothers have succeeded in recovering part of their family's former property in Turkey and he is now in easier circumstances. He speaks fluent Turkish as well as passable English and French in addition to Arabic. His wife is a former Turkish Sultanic Princess, being a daughter of Sultan Murad, a fact which her husband never tires of relating and which he regarded as absolving her on arrival from paying the customary calls on the wives of other Heads of Missions. She talks little but Turkish and is reputed to play the piano. (Written in 1955.)

Lebanon

M. Mohamed Ali Hamade; Ambassador (15th of December, 1955).

Born about 1908. M. Hamade was formerly Minister for six years in Athens. He was accredited also to Belgrade, which post he now combines with Ankara.

When paying his formal call he expressed very friendly sentiments and told me that President Chamoun had specifically directed him to keep in close touch with me on Middle East affairs. Whenever I see him he talks freely, though I would not regard him as particularly reliable. He speaks fluent French and some English. His wife has not joined him, and I understand they are not on good terms.

Libya

M. Ali Essad Jerbi; Ambassador (13th of December, 1954)

*Born in 1901. Educated in Turkey. Later entered the service of the Italian Administration in Cyrenaica. Mayor of Derna during the first and second British occupation. Counsellor to the Amir in Egypt during 1943. Superintendent of Education on return to Cyrenaica in 1944 and subsequently appointed Deputy Secretary for Development in the British Military Administration. Appointed Minister of Works and Mines in 1949 on the formation of the Cyrenaican Government. Appointed representative for Cyrenaica on the Advisory Council to the United Nations Commissioner for Libya in 1950. When the first Libyan Federal Government was formed in March 1951 he was appointed Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs and held also the portfolio of Health, which was later exchanged for that of Justice. Relieved, to his great disappointment, of his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs and appointed Minister of Defence in December 1951 on the declaration of the independence of Libya. (Written in 1955.)

*M. Jerbi is smiling and friendly and seems quite happy at Ankara, though I imagine that he hopes and expects to return before long to politics. He talks Italian and French. His wife talks little but Arabic. They have three grown-up and unfortunately plain daughters who accompany them on formal social occasions. (Written in 1955.)

Mexico

Dr. Victor A. Maldonado; Minister (9th of December, 1954).

*Born about 1905. Dr. Maldonado had a distinguished career as a lawyer in Mexico, being formerly Procurator of Justice of the State of San Luis Potosi and Magistrate of the Supreme Court of the Federal District. He also served in the Federal Chamber of Deputies. His first diplomatic appointment was in 1946, when he became Ambassador to Bolivia. Four months later he was appointed to El Salvador, where he remained until his appointment to Turkey. (Written in 1955.)

*Of diminutive stature and undistinguished manners. Dr. Maldonado seems to have genuinely friendly feelings for Britain. I cannot imagine that he has much work to do. He talks a little French and English but his equally diminutive wife talks little but Spanish. They have small children with them as well as grown-up children at home. (Written in 1955.)

Netherlands

Dr. Mathieu Leon Savelberg; Ambassador (12th of September, 1955).

Born about 1906. Dr. Savelberg was previously Minister at Bogotá.

He is benign and friendly, though not a striking personality. His work here consists mainly of trying to iron out difficulties connected with Turco-Dutch commercial exchanges. His wife is said to be the dominant partner, her influence even extending at times to Chancery matters. They have a daughter of eight.

Norway

M. Ivar Lunde; Ambassador (7th of May, 1956).

Born in 1909 M. Lunde's previous posts include Moscow, Paris, Ankara, Athens and Tel Aviv. From 1946–49 he was Assistant Under-Secretary in the Norwegian Foreign Ministry and afterwards served for a year in New York as Permanent Delegate to the United Nations. Before his appointment to Ankara he was Minister to Thailand and Indonesia. He is accredited also to Iran, Pakistan and Iraq.

A small man of unimpressive appearance and self-effacing manner, M. Lunde has a keen intelligence and an original sense of humour. His wife, who is a good deal younger, is pleasant and natural. They have two small girls of three and eighteen months.

Poland

M. Kazimierz Dorosz; Ambassador (1st of June, 1956).

Born about 1908. M. Dorosz studied law at Lvow and moved to Cracow when Lvow was incorporated in the Ukraine. He was in Warsaw at the time of the rising against the Germans and escaped to the country. He started his diplomatic career in London in 1945 and stayed there until 1952, when he was appointed Head of the United Nations Section of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ankara is his first contact with Turkey and the Middle East.

M. Dorosz is a gay character with little of the inhibited manner usual with Iron Curtain representatives. A Socialist by origin he is, I suspect, at heart strongly opposed to the present régime in Poland. Cultured and fond of music he speaks with nostalgic enthusiasm of his life in London and his

home in Hampstead. His wife worked, I believe, in the Information Section of the Polish Embassy in London and also studied at the London University, but was recalled to Warsaw before she was able to take her diploma. She married in Warsaw, divorced two years later, and then married her present husband. Tall, pale and thin, she finds Ankara dull and depressing, continually bewailing its lack of cultural outlets which she hopes to replace to some extent through the British Council. I imagine that in addition she finds her position as wife of an Iron Curtain Ambassador here a melancholy affair after having a job of her own in London. They both speak quite good English and French. She has a small daughter by her former marriage.

Portugal

M. Luis Norton de Mattos; Minister (19th of April, 1956).

Born about 1906. Served as First Secretary in Ankara from 1943 to 1946. Before his present appointment he was Minister at Oslo.

Quiet and rather ponderous in manner M. de Mattos is a thoroughly good sort. His hobby is history and he has written on the Portuguese explorer, Pinetos, and other subjects. He talks English and French with an equally strong Portuguese accent. His wife, the daughter of a leading Portuguese architect, is beautiful, elegant and charming, but is greatly handicapped by an increasing deafness. They have no children.

Roumania

M. Barbu Zaharescu; Ambassador (7th of May, 1956).

Born about 1906. Before his appointment to Ankara was for several years Rector of the Maxim Gorki Institute of Russian Language and Literature and Director of the Publishing House for Political Literature. At the Party Congress of the Roumanian Workers Party in December 1955 was elected as Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Party.

Short and shock-headed, M. Zaharescu is an unimpressive figure and I have had little opportunity of assessing his character or ability. On our first meeting he told me that in appointing an Ambassador to Turkey, where Roumania had for so long been represented by a Chargé d'Affaires, the Roumanian Government hoped to develop relations between Roumania and Turkey more appropriate to their close association in the past. His wife talks intelligently and is well read. Both talk French. They have four children, of whom one is with them.

Saudi-Arabia

The post of Minister is still vacant and the legation is now in the charge of a First Secretary, M. Saleh Maddah.

Soviet Union

M. Boris Feodorovich Podtserob; Ambassador (28th of March, 1954)

*Born in St. Petersburg. During the early 1940's he was Molotov's private secretary and interpreter. From 1940–46, adviser to the Council of Peoples' Commission of the U.S.S.R. He was among the group of advisers to the U.S.S.R.-German Conference in Berlin in 1940 and present at the signing of the Finnish Armistice in 1944. In 1949 he was appointed General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which year he was also elected a member of the Central Revision Commission at the 19th Party Congress. In 1952 he became Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was a member of the Soviet Delegation to a number of United Nations conferences. Ankara is his first foreign post. (Written in 1955.)

Tall, fair-haired and blue-eyed, he makes himself agreeable on social occasions in quite good French. He has lately begun to show an inclination to discuss political questions. His wife, who spends a good deal of her time in Moscow looking after their young children, is pleasant and speaks quite good German and some French.

Spain

M. Juan Teixidor; Ambassador (19th of April, 1956).

Born in 1892. Joined the Diplomatic Service in 1915 and has served thirty-six years abroad. After beginning his career in Vienna and subsequently Madrid during the First World War, he was appointed to the League of Nations at its first headquarters in London, and stayed with the League Secretariat for nineteen years. He served later as Consul-General at Geneva and Genoa, and during the Second World War as Minister-Counsellor at the Vatican. Before his appointment to Ankara he was Ambassador at The Hague.

Short and neat in appearance, M. Teixidor is cultivated and agreeable in manner and an experienced and intelligent colleague. Moved from The Hague, it would seem, largely as a result of persistent pressure by his predecessor here to be given a post nearer home, M. Teixidor finds Turkey an interesting post where his summer residence on the Bosphorus compensates for the shortcomings of the accommodation taken and furnished by his predecessor in Ankara. Owing to a chronic stomach complaint he lives on a régime. He speaks good English and French. His wife died while he was at The Hague from an illness aggravated by grief over the death of their only son aged sixteen. He has a daughter married to an Italian and a step-daughter whose husband is the present Spanish Ambassador in Rome.

Sweden

M. Adolf Croneborg; Minister (2nd of October, 1951).

*Born in 1900, he has been in the Swedish Foreign Service since 1927. Most of his career has been spent at the Foreign Ministry, latterly as Head of the Personnel Department. His European posts have included Helsinki and Rome, where he was Counsellor from 1945 to 1947. (Written in 1952.)

M. Croneborg is friendly but rather uninteresting. He had a difficult time in 1954 over the sinking of a Turkish submarine by a Swedish merchant ship in the Dardanelles. His wife is talkative and pleasant. They have two sons, of whom the elder is in the Swedish Civil Service, and two daughters.

Switzerland

M. Julien Rossat; Minister (1st of October, 1951).

*Born in 1900 he studied economics at Lausanne and joined the Swiss Political Department in 1929. After various consular posts he went to Tokyo in 1937 and in 1942 to Colombia. In 1947 he became Swiss Political Representative in the British Zone of Germany and returned to Berne in 1948 to deal with administration. (Written in 1952.)

*M. Rossat likes to describe himself as a simple peasant. In reality he takes himself and his position very seriously and I believe he is a bit of a martinet with his staff and his family. He is, nevertheless, very friendly and is well informed, though inclined to exaggerate the significance of motives and events. He is a good horseman, angler and gardener and personally supervises the care of a cow and some sheep which are kept in the garden to provide untainted nourishment for his family. His wife is distinguished and good-looking and the heiress to a country property in Switzerland of which the vines are meticulously administered by her husband. Both

speak English and German as well as French. They have two sons, the younger of whom is being educated by a Swiss tutor living in the house. (Written in 1955.)

Syria

M. Omar el Addas: Minister (28th of February, 1956).

Born in 1904 in Aleppo, M. Omar el Addas is a Sunni Muslim and a lawyer by profession. He practised as a lawyer in Aleppo, where he engaged in anti-French activities. He was Public Prosecutor in Antioch until it was handed over to Turkey in 1939 when he was transferred to a similar post in Aleppo. After being successively Governor of Hauran and Homs he was Public Prosecutor in Latakia from 1950 to 1954, when he became Governor of Aleppo.

I understand that as a Governor M. el Addas established a reputation for hard work and reasonable efficiency, though his appointment was probably due to his membership of the Nationalist Party and his friendship with the Syrian President. He has had no previous diplomatic experience. Since his arrival relations between Turkey and Syria have been badly strained and I doubt if he has played a very active part. He talks fluent French. He is married and has three children. His wife does not appear in public.

United States

Mr. Fletcher Warren: Ambassador (13th of June, 1956).

Born in 1896. Before joining the Diplomatic Service Mr. Warren served for eighteen months overseas with the American forces during the First World War. He has spent most of his service in South America, where he had three assignments as Head of Mission: Nicaragua 1945–47, Paraguay 1947–50 and Venezuela 1951–56. From 1950–51 he was Director of South American Affairs in the State Department.

A large, affable and kindly Texan who gives the impression of simple and straightforward friendliness. He admitted on arrival to being somewhat at sea in the Middle East, and has set about quietly and systematically picking up the complex threads of American interests and responsibilities in the area. It is perhaps this newness to the job that makes him for the present seem more ready to receive information than to impart it. He impresses as being conscientious and painstaking rather than specially intelligent. He is assiduous in accepting invitations. His wife, also a Texan, has only recently joined him. They have no children.

Venezuela

Since January 1956 the legation has been in the charge of a secretary, M. Bernardo Flores, who resides in Beirut and, as far as I know, has not visited Turkey.

Yugoslavia

M. Dragomir Vucinic: Ambassador (14th of September, 1955).

Born about 1920. M. Vucinic played, I believe, an active part with Tito's Partisans during the War. He started his diplomatic career as Ambassador in Vienna, from which post he came to Ankara.

Tall, dark and handsome, M. Vucinic, though friendly in manner, makes little secret of his Communist sympathies. He is markedly critical of British policy in the Middle East and on Cyprus, though not very well informed on it. His young wife, good looking and rather shy, was educated in Vienna and talks German and is learning English. Her husband talks passable French. They have two small daughters.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

RK 1012/6

No. 20

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TURKEY

Mr. Stewart to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (*Received September 21*)

(No. 175. Confidential) *Ankara, September 17, 1956.*

Sir,

I have the honour, with reference to my despatch No. 163 of the 15th of August, 1955, to send you herewith my report for 1956 on the leading personalities in Turkey.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL STEWART.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Turkey

INDEX

(Compiled in September 1956)

1. Açıkalın, Cevat.
2. Adıvar, Madame Halide Edip.
3. Ağaoğlu, Samet.
4. Ağaoğlu, Madame Süreyya.
5. Akdur, Faik Zihni.
6. Aknöz, Nurettin, General.
7. Aksal, Ismail Rüstü.
8. Aksalur, Izzet, General.
9. Akkant, Yunus Muammer.
10. Altincan, Sadik, Admiral.
11. Ariburun, Tekin, Major-General.
12. Arnom, Refet, Vice-Admiral.
13. Arzik, Şerif.
14. Atay, Falih Rifki.
15. Athenagoras, H.A.H., I.
16. Aygün, Kemal.
17. Baban, Cihat.
18. Buban, Sükrü.
19. Baransel, Nürettin, General.
20. Barlas, Cemil Sait.
21. Basman, Avni.
22. Bastimar, Zeki.
23. Bayar, Celal.
24. Baykan, Muammer.
25. Bayur, Yusuf Hikmet.
26. Belbez, Fikret.
27. Bele, Refet, General
28. Belen, Fahri, General.
29. Belge, Burhan.
30. Belger, Nihat Resad.
31. Benderlioğlu, Atif.
32. Bengu, Mehmet Cemil.
33. Birgi, Muharrem Nuri.
34. Bölükbaşi, Osman.
35. Bozkurt, Kemalettin, Admiral.
36. Budakoglu, Esat.
37. Burçak, Rifki Salim.
38. Carim, Fuat.
39. Çavuşoğlu, Muammer.
40. Cebesoy, Ali Fuat, General.
41. Çelikbaş, Fethi.
42. Çoşkun, Salih, Lieutenant-General.
43. Dagmer, Şenk Hüsnu, Dr.
44. Demirer, Arif.
45. Dicleli, Vedat.
46. Dülge, Mithat.
47. Dülger, Bahadir.
48. Ebuzziya, Ziyad.
49. Emeç Selim Rägip.
50. Eralp, Orhan.
51. Erdelhün, Rüştu, General.
52. Ergin, Şemi.
53. Eram, Nihat.
54. Erkin, Feridun Cemal.
55. Erkmen, Hayrettin.
56. Esenbel, Muhib.
57. Esin, Seyfullah.
58. Esmer, Ahmet Şükrü.
59. Ete, Muhlis.
60. Fenik, Mumtaz Faik.
61. Gedik, Namik.
62. Gidel, Nail.
63. Göksay, Fahrettin Kerim.
64. Göksenin, Muzaffer, General.
65. Göktürk, Hüseyin Avni.
66. Görk, Haydar.
67. Gülek, Kasim.
68. Günaltay, Şemsettin.
69. Güreli, Enver.
70. Hikmet, Nazim.
71. Hüsman, Hadi.
72. Ileri, Tevfik.
73. Ilkin, Nedim Veysel.
74. Inönu, Ismet, General.
75. Kalafat, Emin.
76. Kapani, Osman.
77. Karaosmanoğlu, Fevzi Lutfi.
78. Kavur, Şadi.
79. Kiliçlioğlu, Safa.
80. Köprülü, Mehmet Fuad.
81. Kosaltan, Refik.
82. Körez, Nafiz.
83. Korur, Ahmet Salih.
84. Korutürk, Fahri, Admiral.
85. Köymen, Hulusi.
86. Küfrevi, Kasim.
87. Kural, Adnan.
88. Kurtbek, Seyfi.
89. Mandalinci, Zeyyat.
90. Mavroudi, Constantino T.
91. Menderes, Adnan.
92. Menderes, Ethem.
93. Menemencioğlu, Numan.
94. Mengüç, Fevzi, General.
95. Müstecabi, Esat Adil.
96. Nadi, Nadir.
97. Nasuhoğlu, Rükneddin.
98. Nermi, Mustafa.
99. Okan, Zekai, General.
100. Ökmen, Nedim.

101. Öktem, İbrahim.
102. Oral, Cavit.
103. Orbay, Hüseyin Rauf.
104. Ozansoy, Muniz Faik.
105. Özel, Ahmet.
106. Perin, Muhat.
107. Polatkan, Hasan.
108. Rızaa, Kadri.
109. Sarol, Mukerrem.
110. Sarper, Selim Rauf.
111. Seven, Abdulkadir, General.
112. Tacan, Necati, General.
113. Tarhan, Münüaz.
114. Tanrıöver, Hamdullah Suphi.
115. Taray, Cemal Hüsnü.
116. Tlabar, Madame Nazli.
117. Törehan, Habib Edip.
118. Tozan, Satzet Lutfi.
119. Tunaboylu, Ismail Hakki, General.
120. Türkmen, Behçet, Lieutenant-General
121. Uçaner, Fevzi, General.
122. Ulaş, Fahrettin.
123. Ulusan, Aziz, Vice-Admiral.
124. Uresin, Yümnü, General.
125. Urguplu, Suat Hayri
126. Uz, Behçet, Dr.
127. Velibese, Zühtü.
128. Yalçin, Hüseyin Cahit.
129. Yalman, Ahmet Emin.
130. Yamut, Nuri, General.
131. Yardimci, Celal.
132. Yetkin, Nuvit.
133. Yircali, Sitki.
134. Yücel, Hasan Ali.
135. Zeytinoğlu, Kemal.
136. Zorlu, Fatin Rüştü.
137. Zorlu, Rifki Rüştü.

Obituary

Akaygen, Mehmet Enis.
Çiçekdag, Osman, Şevki.
Koral, Ridran, Admiral.
Üstündag, Ekrem Hayri, Dr.

---

1. Açikalin, Cevat

Born in 1898, he was educated at Galatasaray and studied law in Geneva. After graduating in 1921, he joined the Turkish Foreign Service and served in Warsaw, Kabul, Prague, Tehran and Moscow; he attended the negotiations for the Treaty of Lausanne and the Montreux Conference.

In 1938 he was Turkish High Commissioner in the Hatay before it was incorporated in Turkey, and in 1939 he was appointed deputy Secretary-General of the Ministry. In 1939 he accompanied the Foreign Minister to Moscow, and later that year and in 1940 he had contacts with the Allied Commanders-in-Chief both in Ankara and at Aleppo and Haifa.

In July 1942 he was appointed Ambassador in Moscow, and in July 1943 Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was appointed Ambassador in London in October 1945, and in January 1952 he became once again Secretary-General of the Ministry. After a period of indifferent health during which he appeared to leave the bulk of the work to his deputy, M. Birgi (*q.v.*), who succeeded him at the Ministry, M. Açikalin moved to Rome as Ambassador in October 1954.

M. Açikalin, who is deaf, speaks English and French well. His wife, a sister of the former wife of Atatürk, does not appear in society. He has substantial private means.

2. Adivar, Madame Halide Edip

Born in 1886 of Dönme parentage, and educated at the American Girls' College in Istanbul. She was already well known in Turkish political life in the days of the C.U.P., and at the beginning of the War of Independence she toured Anatolia addressing the troops. After an unsuccessful attempt to influence Atatürk she quarrelled with him and left Turkey in 1926. On her return, after several years of travel in Europe, she became Professor of English at Istanbul University and took no further part in political life until in 1950 she was elected Independent Deputy for Izmir with Democrat support. She has made some vigorous and independent speeches in the Assembly. Resigned her deputyship and retired from politics in 1954.

She is well known as a writer of novels, some of which have been written in English, and she is still a very important figure in the intellectual world in Turkey. She has an acute brain but is usually swayed by her emotions. She is well disposed to the British but even more so to the Americans. She speaks English and French very well. Her husband, Adnan, died suddenly in July 1955.

3. Ağaoğlu, Samet

Born in 1909, his family are Azerbaijani Turks. He is a brother of Madame Süreyya Ağaoğlu (*q.v.*) and a son of the late Ahmet Ağaoğlu, once an influential Deputy who, together with M. Fethi Okyar, started the Free Party in the late '20s. Samet's career began at the Ministry of Commerce, where he held several appointments as head of department. He left the Ministry to join the Democrat Party and by 1949 was a member of the Party's Administrative Council. Elected Democrat Deputy for Manisa in 1950, he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of State soon after the formation of the first Democrat Government. His conduct in office quickly lost him popularity, particularly with the press, and also in the Democrat Party, and he resigned these posts to become Minister of Labour. His approach to labour and trade union problems showed some independence of thought, but he fell foul of public opinion in spite of assiduous wooing of the workers. Finally, he resigned and left the Government altogether. Always a controversial figure, he continued to be active in party politics and after the 1954 election condemned some of the Government's new legislation as undemocratic. The Prime Minister evidently found it safer to have him in the Cabinet rather than out of it, and in December 1954 he was readmitted as Minister of State Industries at the expense of M. Çelikbaş (*q.v.*). He was one of the few survivors of the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 and was reappointed Minister of State Industries in the 4th Menderes Cabinet.

Erratic and quarrelsome he makes enemies, and has his critics in the Democrat Party. But he has gained a reputation for honesty and hard work in his present appointment. He writes for the Democrat Party organ *Zafer*. He is married with three children, one of whom is at Oxford. He speaks some French and a little English. His wife speaks passable English.

4. Ağaoğlu, Madame Süreyya

Born about 1905 in Azerbaijan, she is the sister of Samet Ağaoğlu (*q.v.*). On arrival in Turkey in 1920 she studied law, obtaining Turkish nationality about 1921. The pioneer practising woman lawyer in Turkey, she has built up a lucrative practice including commercial interests and she has an office in London. She was very pleased with her reception and the help she received in England in late 1947. Strongly anti-Russian, she was secretary of a Liberal association in Istanbul, but she often adopts the attitude of a violent Nationalist. Speaks English, French and Russian.

She is a mischievous tale-bearer and should be treated with caution, as she is said to work for the Turkish Secret Police.

In 1952, to the general surprise, she married a German lawyer much younger than herself named Werner Taschenbrecher, whose political antecedents are rather doubtful as he was dismissed from the West Berlin Legal Service in June 1951, owing to his Communist connexions.

In July 1954 she presided at a Congress of Women Jurists at Helsinki, leading a Turkish delegation of five. In June 1955 she attended the International Congress of Jurists at Athens, walking out in protest at an attempt by Greek lawyers to raise the Cyprus question.

5. Akdur, Faik Zihni

Born about 1895. Between 1937 and 1939 he served as consul at Aleppo and consul-general at Beirut. He returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 1939 and became Director-General of the Third (General) Department. Appointed head of First Department in 1942. Minister at Sofia in January 1945 and ambassador at Moscow in 1946. In June 1949 he returned to the Ministry as Secretary-General. In August 1951 he was appointed ambassador to Madrid, and in September 1952 he was transferred to Rome, and to Berne in October 1954.

M. Akdur is not very prepossessing in appearance and socially he is heavy though affable. Whilst he was Secretary-General he was friendly, helpful and quite communicative. He speaks good French but no English.

6. Aknoz Nurettin, General

General Aknoz is a young army commander who has risen rapidly and may go further. He became a brigadier-general and divisional commander in 1945, was promoted major-general in 1947, lieutenant-general in 1951 and general in 1956. After serving as head of the Ordnance and Supplies Departments in the Ministry of Defence, he took command of the Second Corps in October 1952 and in August 1954 became Commander of the Third Army. Appointed Martial Law Commander for Istanbul after the riots of September 6–7, 1955; and Commander, Land Forces, in June 1956 in place of General Seven (*q.v.*).

He is strong and energetic and understands Turkish needs for modern equipment. He is pleasant and friendly with both British and American officers.

He speaks German and some French and understands a little English. He has an agreeable German-speaking wife.

7. Aksal, Ismail Rüştü

Born in 1911 in Pamukova and educated at the School of Political Sciences, he was appointed an assistant inspector in the Ministry of Finance in 1934 and in 1938 an inspector. In 1939 he went to France to study. In 1942 he was appointed Financial and Commercial Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in London. In 1945 he returned to Turkey and held various high posts in the Ministries of Finance and Commerce. In 1946 he was elected deputy for Kocaeli and became Minister of Finance on the formation of the Günaltay Cabinet in January 1949. He was defeated in the 1950 and 1954 elections, and after a period of obscurity has recently become more prominent in P.R.P. affairs.

He speaks good English and French, and was divorced in 1953 from a charming wife

8. Aksalur, Izzet, General

Born in 1894 at Tosya, he was commissioned in 1914 and served in the Dardanelles, Palestine and on the Russian front. In the War of Independence he fought as a Captain; and in 1929, then a Lieutenant-Colonel, he went on a military mission to Afghanistan. By 1940 he was a Divisional Commander, and by 1944 a Corps Commander. In 1948 he was promoted General, and in 1949 Vice-Chief of the General Staff. Closely associated with the P.R.P., he was replaced in June 1950, but he managed to ingratiate himself with the Democrat Minister of Defence and became Secretary-General of the Supreme Council for National Defence. In September 1952 he was appointed ambassador in Tokyo and later in the year he was accredited also to the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa. In May 1955 he was appointed Ambassador to Tehran.

General Aksalur was considered to be one of the ablest of the Turkish Commanders in his day. He was prepared to accept new ideas and was very friendly to British officers. He speaks fair French and some German. His wife, who is much younger than he, speaks French and some English and is very friendly.

9. Alakant, Muammer

Born in Alaşehir in 1904, he was educated at the American College in Izmir and later studied law in Paris. Formerly an adviser in the Ministry of Commerce and a Commercial Attaché abroad, he was elected Democrat Deputy for Zonguldak in the General Elections of 1950.

During 1951 M. Alakant was an active member of the Democrat Party and became prominent as a strong critic of M. Menderes and his Government. Later, however, whilst maintaining a certain independence of attitude, he improved his relations with the Prime Minister and generally supported the Government; and in June 1952 he was appointed Minister of State. He proved incompetent, and the Prime Minister dropped him from the Cabinet in April 1953. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954.

In November 1955 he resigned from the Democrat Party and became one of the founder members of the Freedom Party of which he was elected a Deputy Parliamentary Group Leader in December 1955. He has since been active, particularly on the economic side, in debates in the Grand National Assembly.

He is married and speaks English and French.

10. Altincan, Sadik, Admiral

Born at Izmir in 1896. Graduating in 1918, he was in command of destroyers from 1934 to 1941 and of the Submarine Fleet from 1941 to 1944. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1946 and vice-admiral in 1947. He was until August 1949 Admiral Commanding the Naval Training at Heybeliada, where he took active steps to inaugurate the new system of training officers and ratings on Royal Navy lines. Appointed Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Fleet, in July 1949. After the 1950 General Elections he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, a post corresponding to that of First Sea Lord. Promoted Admiral (junior) in 1951 and Admiral (senior) in August 1955. He is also the NATO Naval Area Commander known as COMEDNOREAST.

A submarine specialist who received his early training in Germany, Admiral Altincan is a progressive and efficient officer and the only Turkish Admiral who can compete with the army generals on equal terms at present. Speaks little English and fair German. A bachelor.

11. Ariburun, Tekin, Major-General

Born in Istanbul in 1903, he joined the Army in 1925 and transferred to the Air Force as a pilot in 1926. After long studies in Britain and Turkey, he was Assistant Air Attaché in Berlin from 1936 to 1938, and Air Attaché in Washington from 1941 to 1943 and 1946 to 1948. After appointments including Deputy Director of Operations and Training in the Turkish General Staff, and Divisional Commander at Eskişehir, he was appointed Chief of Staff, Turkish Air Force, in September 1954.

He is married to an extremely intelligent woman who has been a Deputy and is a practising barrister. They have two children, a boy and a girl, the boy is unfortunately an incurable spastic.

Both the Ariburuns speak excellent English and both are extreme nationalists. At times this high sense of nationalism appears to influence the general's judgment.

12. Arnom, Refet, Vice-Admiral

Born about 1906, a regular naval officer. He has been Naval Attaché at Rome and was (in 1953) the first Turkish Naval Representative at Headquarters, Allied Forces, Mediterranean, in Malta. Appointed Commander of the Surface Action Group in 1954 and Director of Intelligence of the Turkish General Staff in 1955. Transferred as Chief of Staff to Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Navy, in 1956. Promoted rear-admiral in 1952 and vice-admiral in 1955.

He speaks English and Italian and is married to a charming wife who speaks a little Italian. He is able and enlightened and popular in the Navy. An admirer of the Royal Navy. He did much in his appointment as Director of Intelligence to ease the irksome restrictions to which Foreign Service Attachés were formerly subject.

13. Arzik, Şerif

Of Georgian descent he was born in Istanbul in about 1907 and was educated there at the Galatasaray Lycée. He served in Greece for several years as a member of the Mixed Committee dealing with the exchange of populations and in the mid-thirties joined the Anatolian Agency in which he rose to be principal editor. During the last war he was the agency's special correspondent in Budapest and after the occupation by the Red Army, was transferred to Athens in the same capacity. In 1948 he resigned from the agency and was appointed Head of the Foreign News and Monitoring Department of the press bureau. At the same time he began to make daily broadcasts as the editor of *Radio Journal*, a semi-official review of political events.

In this latter capacity, he established his reputation among the Democrat Party leaders as a political propagandist and in August 1953 he was appointed Head of the Anatolian Agency. He now enjoys the favour of the President and the Prime Minister, both of whom he has regularly accompanied on tours in Turkey and abroad, including the President's visit to the United Kingdom for the funeral of King George VI.

Unreliable and erratic, he is intelligent and has a keen sense of journalism. Apparently friendly to us but an unattractive personality. He speaks French, Russian and understands English, German and Greek. He has an attractive and ambitious wife wife who speaks English, French and German, and is something of a *chiromante*.

14. Atay, Falih Rifki

Born in Istanbul in 1894, he was educated at Galatasaray and became a teacher. At the end of 1920 he joined Mustafa Kemal and wrote for the nationalist press. He was deputy for Bolu from 1923 to 1935 and for Ankara from 1935 to 1950. During this time he went on several missions abroad and attended a number of international conferences. He lost his seat in the Assembly in the general elections of 1950.

For many years he was chief leader-writer of *Ulus*, the official paper of the P.R.P. Government; and during the last war his articles showed that his sympathies lay with the Allies. As a close adviser of Atatürk and later of M. Inönü he was an important figure in Kemalist Turkey, up to the fall of the Peker Government in September 1947. Early in 1952 he founded the P.R.P. daily *Dünya*. One of Turkey's most talented writers and one of our most consistent supporters, he is now a powerful and popular opposition writer. Always a member of the Conservative wing of the P.R.P. he has attacked the Government over a long period, though at one time he changed his line to support them against religious reaction, apparently responded at the time of the 1954 elections to the attentions of the Prime Minister, and acted with some caution in 1955 while under the threat of confiscation of his printing plant by the Treasury on the grounds that it was a P.R.P. property illegally acquired. He has little regard for the P.R.P. leaders, Nihat Erim and Kasim Gülek (*q.v.*). Atay is conceited and ambitious, a gambler and a speculator; he makes enemies, but is fond of social life.

Formerly President of the Commission for the Reform of the Turkish Alphabet, he was a notable champion of the new script. He speaks French.

15. H. A. H. Athenagoras I

Born in 1886, a Turkish citizen of Epirus, he completed his studies at the Theological Faculty of Halki (Princes Islands) in 1909, and was appointed Archdeacon in Monastir, where he distinguished himself by his support of the Greek population. He left Monastir for Athens in 1916 when the town was occupied by German and Bulgarian forces and was later elected Metropolitan of Corfu. He took part in several Christian congresses, including the Lambeth Conference, and in 1930 was appointed Archbishop of New York, where he worked for a reconciliation between all the Orthodox Churches in the United States.

Whilst he was in America he acquired United States citizenship, but later renounced it when in November 1948, to the satisfaction of the State Department and of the Turkish authorities, he was elected Ecumenical Patriarch.

Athenagoras is very active, impressive and a man of subtlety. He enjoys the full support of the Greek Government but has naturally met some local opposition in his attempts to reform the Greek Orthodox Church. He is popular with the Turks and on good terms with the Turkish Government. In the spring of 1952 he exchanged visits with the Prime Minister. His prestige was further enhanced by the courtesies shown to him by the King and Queen of the Hellenes during their visit to Turkey in June 1952. Strongly anti-Communist and well disposed to Britain and America, he has attempted to reduce the Muscovite influence in the Orthodox Patriarchates of the Middle East. He has so far refrained from taking sides in the Anglo-Greek dispute over Cyprus. Behaved with dignity and restraint after the riots of September 6–7, 1955; and the Turkish Government were quick to offer him moral amends. Has subsequently used all his influence to re-establish good relations with the Government and to recreate an atmosphere of security amongst his flock, although he has from time to time come under heavy fire in the Grand National

Assembly from extremists in the Democratic Party on charges of anti-Turkish and pro-Greek political activity. He knows English, French, Turkish, Russian, Italian and German as well as Greek.

16. Aygün, Kemal

Born about 1910, he joined the Police Force and held several posts in the Istanbul Directorate of Police, including that of Head of the Fourth Section, which deals with foreigners. When the Democrats came to power in 1950 he was appointed Chief of Police in Istanbul, and in 1952 he was appointed Vali of Ankara and acting Director-General of Security in the Ministry of Interior. In May 1954 he became acting Mayor of Ankara as well as Vali, but no longer Director-General of Security. After the riots of September 6–7, 1955, he was reappointed Director-General of Security and relinquished the offices of Vali and Mayor.

M. Aygün probably owes his advancement to the fact that he is a nephew of Refik Koraltan (*q.v.*). He is also close to the Prime Minister and a man of some influence. He is a friendly and energetic man who is anxious to improve the Turkish police, and looks to British police methods for an example. He visited the United Kingdom in March 1956 under British Council auspices, mainly to study British police methods. Jovial and fond of wrestling, he has travelled and speaks some French; he and his wife are learning English and his English has improved considerably.

17. Baban, Cihat

Born in Istanbul in 1911, he studied law and later took up journalism and edited *Tasvir* until the paper ceased publication in 1949.

Elected Independent deputy for Istanbul in 1946, he was active in opposition to the P.R.P. Government both in the press and in the Assembly; and in 1950 he was elected Democrat deputy for Izmir. He has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly, and since 1950 a Turkish delegate to the Assembly of the Council of Europe. He was chairman of the Interparliamentary Union Conference in Istanbul in 1951.

Proud of his Kurdish origin (he springs from the Babans of Shahrizor), M. Baban is good-humoured and friendly to us, but rather unreliable. Has some influence in the Democrat Party. Now owner-editor of the pro-Democrat Istanbul daily *Son Saat*. He is now publishing *Tercuman*, a new Istanbul daily which promises to become a large and important paper, and is backed by wealthy Democrat Party supporters in Istanbul. In recent months his editorials have become increasingly critical of the Government, and Tercüman was suspended for fifteen days for publishing extracts from an article by Ismet Inönü (*q.v.*) on the riots of September 1955. There have been rumours that he will be expelled from the Democrat Party. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. He speaks French and German.

18. Baban, Şükrü

Born in Istanbul of Kurdish origin in 1893, he studied law in Istanbul and Paris, and became a journalist before the first world war. After the end of the first war he is said to have been associated with movements for Kurdish independence. Abandoning journalism, he became teacher, and later professor, of economics at Istanbul University.

He resumed journalism during the second world war in *Tasvir*, which belonged to his nephew Cihat Baban (*q.v.*). In 1946 he became leader-writer of *Yeni Sabah*. His main lines are economics and anti-colonialism.

19. Baransel, Nurettin, General

Born about 1895, he served in Gallipoli and took part in the War of Independence.

Promoted major-general in 1941, he was appointed to the command of the 16th Division in 1943. From 1944–45, he was Chief of Staff to the First Army. In 1946 he was appointed Commander IV Corps (since disbanded) and in 1947 promoted lieutenant-general. 1950 Commander, III Corps. Appointed G.O.C., Third Army (Eastern Turkey), in 1951, and soon afterwards promoted general. Appointed G.O.C. First Army (Istanbul) in 1952. Appointed Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Land Forces, on April 12, 1954, and promoted to be Chief of the General Staff from May 25, 1954. Accompanied the Prime Minister to talks in Washington in May 1955. Replaced as Chief of the General Staff by General Tunaboylu (*q.v.*) (who acted for him during a long illness in 1955) in June 1956 and appointed a member of the Supreme Military Court.

General Baransel is known as a strict disciplinarian. He is a man of powerful personality and his influence is felt throughout his command. He does not hesitate to get rid of inefficient officers, and is energetic, but a showman. His tactical knowledge is no greater and no less than that of the average Turkish officer. He is friendly to British officers, and speaks a little French and elementary English. His wife speaks only Turkish. General Baransel has an attractive young daughter by a former marriage who speaks excellent English.

20. Barlas, Cemil Sait

Born in Istanbul in 1905, he studied law in Istanbul and Heidelberg. After practising law for some time he was elected P.R.P. deputy for Gaziantep in 1947.

In June 1948 he was appointed Minister of Commerce, and in June 1949 Minister of State in charge of foreign aid. He acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absences of the Minister.

He lost his seat in the general elections of 1950, and returned to practise as a barrister. Owner-editor of the pro-P.R.P. Ankara daily *Son Havadis*. He was an unsuccessful P.R.P. candidate in the elections in May 1954. He also visited the United Kingdom in 1954 with the party of Turkish journalists. He advocates Fabian socialism and would like to found a party on those lines. He is on fairly good terms with Democrat Party leaders and at present plays little part in P.R.P. affairs.

M. Barlas is pleasant and helpful but volatile and liable to make impetuous statements. He speaks French and German and favours German interests. He is married and has two children.

21. Başman, Avni

Born about 1896, he made his career in the Ministry of Education, where he held various posts as inspector. Elected Democrat Deputy for Izmir in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Education in the first Democrat Government, but resigned after three months, nominally for reasons of health, but actually because he was unable to face criticism of his Ministry in the Assembly.

M. Başman speaks fluent but inaudible English and is very friendly to us. He was said to be so fond of the British that he was nicknamed "Ingiliz Avni." Not re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. He is pleasant and intelligent but colourless.

He criticised the Government's economic policy mildly in a Press article in 1955 and was expelled from the Democrat Party.

22. Bastimar, Zeki

Born in Surmene in 1905, he became interested in communism at an early age and in 1926 he studied Marxism in Russia. On his return to Turkey he did his military service and was later employed for seven or eight years as a clerk in the Prime Minister's library.

In 1944 he served a year's imprisonment and, on his release, became active in the reorganisation of the Turkish Communist Party, which had been broken up by the Ankara arrests in 1944. During the years from 1946 to 1951 he was the Central Organiser of the clandestine party throughout Turkey and kept in close touch with the provincial committees in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.

On October 28, 1951, he was re-arrested and tried with 184 Turkish Communists in 1954, receiving a sentence of ten years' imprisonment on October 7, 1954.

23. Bayar, Celal

Born at Gemlik in 1884 and educated privately, he became cashier in the Bursa branch of the Deutsche Orient Bank. After serving in the War of Independence as a guerilla, he was elected Deputy for Izmir and appointed Minister of National Economy in 1923. Appointed Minister of Reconstruction in 1924, he soon resigned to become Director-General of the Iş Bank, whilst remaining a Deputy.

In 1932 he was again appointed Minister of National Economy and during next few years visited Athens, London, Paris and Berlin as head or member of delegations negotiating various economic agreements.

In 1937 he became acting Prime Minister to allow Inönü a rest; and when Inönü resigned soon afterwards he was appointed Prime Minister. He remained Prime Minister after the election of Inönü as President in 1938, but resigned unexpectedly in 1939 at a time when several serious financial scandals were being investigated. No stigma of direct responsibility for these scandals attached itself to Bayar personally.

At the end of 1945, with Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü, he founded the Democrat Party and became its leader. He himself was elected Deputy for Istanbul in 1946, but his party won only about 50 seats. In the general elections of May 1950 his party was returned to power with a large majority and he was subsequently elected the third President of the Republic, at the same time resigning from the official leadership of the Democrat Party.

M. Bayar's manners in public are easy and informal, and it has been part of his policy to dispense with the formality and ceremony which surrounded Inönü, and to mix more freely with the people. This, together with his reputation for honesty, earnestness and capability, has given him a high prestige and popularity in the country. But although it seemed at first that he intended to retain effective power in his hands, he has in fact left the conduct of affairs largely to his Prime Minister, M. Menderes. He is well disposed to the British, and in February 1952 he headed the delegation which attended the funeral of His Majesty King George VI. His official visit to the United States with Madame Bayar in January 1954 was a conspicuous success though this may have been more due to the prevailing pro-Turkish mood of the American public than to M. Bayar's own rather unspectacular personality. Nevertheless, he did surprisingly well and his tour enhanced his own reputation and the prestige of his party and country. He is very popular wherever he goes in Turkey. He was re-elected President on May 14, 1954. He paid State visits to Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran and Jordan in 1955.

He speaks a little French. He is married and has three children. M. Bayar, though over 70, made a rapid recovery from an internal operation in April 1955, which was conducted by Mr. Millin, an Irish surgeon.

There were rumours in 1955 of differences between the President and the Prime Minister and the view was fairly widely expressed that M. Bayar had engineered the Cabinet crisis of November 1955. Since then, however, there have been no signs of any rift and M. Bayar has frequently accompanied the Prime Minister on provincial speech-making tours. It has also been said that M. Bayar would like to see more executive powers concentrated in the President's hands but that he feels himself too old to enter into a struggle to achieve this for himself.

24. Baykan, Muammer.

A graduate of Istanbul University, where he studied in the faculties of Law and Economics, he was on the teaching staff there for a time. He then specialised in International Law and Foreign Affairs at Columbia University. For five years he worked for the United Nations, returning to Turkey in February 1954.

In May 1954 he was involved in an Election dispute over his candidature at Çanakkale. He was elected on the list of Democrat Party candidates, but was asked by the Prime Minister to stand down; he acquiesced. He was appointed Director-General of the Turkish Press, Broadcasting and Tourist Department in place of Dr. Alyot. In his first weeks he clashed with his own staff and with foreign correspondents. In 1954 he took a dislike to Reuter's (British) correspondent in Turkey, and while in London personally intervened with the agency to secure his recall. He has largely purged the Press Department and Radio of officials alleged to be pro-P.R.P.

M. Baykan is ambitious, unpleasant, and a xenophobe. But he has so far been helpful to this Embassy, although he is only allowed by the Prime Minister and the supervising Minister of State to take minor decisions. He speaks good English.

25. Bayur, Yusef Hikmet

Born in Istanbul about 1882 and educated at Galatasaray, he entered the Turkish Foreign Service and served in Paris, Berlin, London, and in the Ministry. Appointed Minister in Belgrade in 1925, he became private secretary to the President of the Republic in 1927. Ambassador in Kabul from 1928 to 1932 and Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic from 1932 to 1933, when he was elected Deputy for Manisa. He was soon appointed Minister of Education, but resigned in 1934, ostensibly to devote himself to historical studies.

In 1946 he joined the Democrat Party, but left in 1948 to join the National Party, of which he was chairman in 1950 to 1951. Defeated in the 1950 general elections, he remained editor of the National Party newspaper *Kudret* until it ceased publication in July 1952.

A severe critic of the Democrat Government, whom he accused of authoritarianism at home and rashness abroad, M. Bayur steadily opposed religious reactionary tendencies in the National Party. When these tendencies showed their strength at the 1953 Party Congress he tried to commit his colleagues publicly to Kemalism, failed, and resigned from the party. Elected an Independent Deputy in the Democratic Party list in May 1954. M. Bayur still, from time to time, speaks in the Assembly against religious reaction.

26. Bel ez, Fikret

Born about 1906, a career diplomat who has served in London. He has been Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic since early 1955. He was previously President Bayar's Chef de Cabinet and acting Secretary-General. Personally devoted to President Bayar and known to be concerned at the weakness of the Presidency in relation to the Executive headed by a forceful Prime Minister with a docile Assembly, he is probably a conscientious and able official, but it is doubtful whether he has much influence.

He appears to be in delicate health. Married to the daughter of a former Foreign Ministry official. Both he and his wife speak good English and French and are friendly and agreeable.

27. Bele, Refet, General

Born at Truovo in 1881, he first achieved fame as the defender of Gaza in 1916, and was a Corps Commander in Palestine in 1918. He became one of Mustafa Kemal's chief commanders in the War of Independence. He held office as Minister of the Interior, Minister of National Defence and Governor of Thrace.

Elected deputy for Istanbul in 1923 he opposed the Republic and supported the Caliph. He later became one of the leaders of a new Progressive Party. In 1926 he was tried for conspiracy against Atatürk's life but was acquitted.

He was elected Independent deputy for Istanbul in 1935 and again in 1947, but he lost his seat in 1950. However, he remains on good terms with the Democrat leaders and is still Turkish representative on the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Near East Relief and Works Agency, to which he was appointed in 1949.

General Bele, who was one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders, is a vivacious and pleasant old gentleman. His prestige is still high, but he belongs to the past. He is not often seen in Turkey nowadays; he seems to be settling down in Beirut and his health is said to be failing. He speaks French.

28. Belen, Fahri, General

Born at Bolu in 1892. He was educated at the Istanbul Military Academy and took part in the Balkan War, the First World War and the War of Independence. He afterwards held a number of staff appointments, taught at the War Academy, and wrote a number of books on military history. In 1950 he retired from the army to stand as Democrat Party candidate for Bolu, was elected and became Minister of Public Works in the first Democrat Government. He resigned in October 1950 for reasons of health, though he had had differences with his colleagues. He has since opposed the Government, and in particular the Prime Minister, in the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group. Elected a Deputy in May 1954. He speaks only Turkish.

He was put up by dissatisfied delegates as a substitute for Refik Koraltan (*q.v.*) as Democrat Party candidate for the Grand National Assembly chairmanship, at the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group meeting in October 1955. He got a number of votes but M. Koraltan was subsequently re-elected in the Grand National Assembly by 381 votes to 1.

29. Belge, Burhan.

Born in 1899 he was educated at the Galatasaray Lycée and in Germany at Munich and Kassel. For a time he was private secretary to the President and in the early thirties acted as Anatolian Agency correspondent in the Balkans. From 1933–43 he was Director of the Press Bureau under the Ministry of the Interior and, after leaving the public service, joined the Democrat Party in 1946, working for them as a journalist in Izmir as editor of the newspaper, *Demokrat Izmir*. He left the paper in 1948 as the result of a difference with the party leaders and in 1949 became a contributor to the Istanbul daily, *Yeni Istanbul*.

Just before the General Election of 1950, he left the Democrat Party and during the election campaign strongly supported the P.R.P. The Party's defeat at the polls was a severe blow to his prospects and he disappeared from the public view for some time. Adnan Menderes, however, still retained a good opinion of him and he is now back in full favour as a member of the board of control of the government organ, *Zafer*, recently acting as editor-in-chief, and a regular broadcaster. In 1954 he proved an exacting and querulous leader of a group of Turkish journalists who were guests of Her Majesty's Government on a visit to the United Kingdom, though he has shown evidence of the visit's educative effect upon him.

An experienced journalist, he is capable and intelligent and enjoys the friendship and patronage of the Prime Minister. Formerly married to the Hungarian film actress, Tza-Tza Gabor; his present wife, who is his third, does not appear in public. During his varied career, he has—not surprisingly—earned a reputation for unreliability and of being a turncoat.

He is pro-British and speaks good English, French and German.

30. Belger, Nihat Reşad, Professor Dr.

Born in 1882. A heart specialist. He visited Lausanne with the Turkish delegation under Ismet Inönü, with whom he apparently quarrelled on questions of policy. He thereafter spent about fifteen years in voluntary exile, mainly in France. After his return to Turkey he practised for some years at Istanbul and also assisted in the Italian hospital there. Elected a Democrat Deputy in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Health and Public Assistance in the first Democrat Government, but resigned four months later after differences with the Prime Minister. In December 1950 he was elected President of the Red Crescent, and in November 1952 President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly. Turkish delegate at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, in September 1953. Not re-elected a Deputy in May 1954.

He was ambitious and aspired to be Minister for Foreign Affairs. He appreciates entertainment and attention. He is married to an Egyptian and speaks good English and French.

31. Benderlioglu, Atif

Born in Ankara about 1905, he studied law in Istanbul and practised as a lawyer until he was elected Mayor of Ankara soon after the victory of the Democrat Party in the general elections of 1950. In 1951 he was also elected to the Executive Committee of the Democrat Party.

In 1951 he visited the United Kingdom at the invitation of the British Council and came back very pleased with his reception there. In 1952 he attended an International Conference of Mayors in the United States.

32. Bengü, Mehmet Cemil

Born in Mesudiye in 1914, he studied law in Turkey and Switzerland and served in various posts in the Ministry of Justice, eventually rising to be Public Prosecutor for Ankara. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Ordu in 1954, he easily headed the list for elections to the Supreme Disciplinary

Council of the Party. Appointed a Minister of State (responsible for Statistics and Meteorological Affairs) in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

It has been imposible so far to judge his qualities. He speaks French and German.

33. Birgi, Muharrem Nuri

Born in Istanbul in 1908, he studied at Galatasaray, in Paris and in Geneva. A career diplomat, he has served in Washington, Vichy and Madrid. Recalled to Ankara, he was appointed successively head of the Co-ordination Department, head of the Consular Department, head of the Second Department, Assistant Secretary-General and, at the beginning of 1953 Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry.

He has attended several international meetings as Turkish delegate: and he has accompanied the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs on official visits abroad; and he nearly always accompanies the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister on official visits abroad. He attended the London Conference on Cyprus in August 1955, and, with M. Eralp (*q.v.*), has been responsible for the production of most of the documents on Cyprus produced by the Turkish Government. He headed the Turkish delegation to the London Conference on Suez in August 1956.

M. Birgi, who is of more than average intelligence, is popular among his colleagues and with the Diplomatic Corps. He is inclined to push subtlety to the point where action become difficult; but his rise in the Ministry was rapid.

In October 1954 he succeeded M. Açikalin (*q.v.*) as Secretary-General, having for some time carried most of the important work of the Ministry on his shoulders. As Secretary-General he has worked almost single handed, delegating very little authority and thereby delaying the execution of routine business. He works very closely with the Prime Minister and clearly enjoys his confidence. He has been very helpful to us. He speaks excellent French and good English. He is divorced from his wife.

34. Bölükbaşi, Osman

Bore in Kirşehir in 1913, he studied law. He joined the Democrat Party soon after its foundation in 1946, but quarrelled with the party leaders and founded the National Party, of whose executive committee he is a member. In November 1949 he was accused of plotting against the lives of Inönü and Bayar, was arrested, but was released after a few days owing to insufficient evidence.

Elected deputy for Kirşehir in the 1950 general elections, he was the only National Party deputy in the Assembly. Played a leading part in the formation of the Republican National Party early in 1954, after the suppression of the National Party. He was re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. He is a vehement and emotional but effective speaker, and he has frequently attacked the policy of the Democrat Government in the Assembly. He knows no foreign language.

In 1955 he was still drawing audiences for his vigorous speeches and attacking the Government freely. In late June he was elected chairman of the R.N.P.

He is considered to be the ablest orator in Turkey and his personal popularity is out of proportion to the power of his party. He has so far failed to respond to efforts by the Freedom Party and the People's Republican Party to persuade the Republican National Party to join them to form a united Opposition to the Government, although he associated himself in a joint Opposition Communiqué in July 1956 condemning the Government's undemocratic practices.

35. Bozkurt, Kemalettin Admiral

Born about 1900. Awarded War of Independence Medal. Promoted Rear-Admiral in 1947, Vice-Admiral in 1950 and Admiral in 1953. Formerly a gunnery specialist and keen small ship officer. He was Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Fleet, from 1952 to 1955 and is now Naval Member of the Ministry of Defence Development Organisation which may well be his last appointment. Intelligent, energetic and hard-working, and with great charm of manner. He seems very well disposed towards the British. Speaks fluent German and good English. Married, with one daughter.

36. Budakoglu, Esat

Born in Balikesir in 1911 he studied law and served in various posts in the Ministry of Justice, after which he practised as a lawyer in Balikesir. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Balikesir in 1950 and re-elected in 1954. Has for some years been one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Grand National Assembly. Appointed Minister of Agriculture in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955, he has not so far shown any marked ability.

Speaks only Turkish.

37. Burçak, Rifki Salim

Born in Ankara in 1913, he is a graduate of the School of Political Science, of which he is still a member. He was professor of diplomatic history there until his election as Democratic Deputy for Erzerum in 1950. In March 1951 he was appointed Minister of Customs and Monopolies.

In October 1951 he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Democrat Party, and soon afterwards, following complaints that the Committee was packed with Ministers, he resigned from the Government and chose to continue to serve on the Committee. However, in April 1953 he was brought back into the Government as Minister of Education. He was re-elected a Deputy in May 1954, but was replaced at the Ministry of Education by the former Minister of State, Celal Yardimci (*q.v.*). He is a regular contributor to *Zafer*, the Government mouthpiece, and a member of the board of control.

He is married and has two children.

38. Carim, Fuat

Born about 1892 of Circassian origin; widower.

Started his career as a sub-Prefect of Bornova, near Smyrna, towards the beginning of the First World War. Took part in the War of Independence. Deputy to the first Grand National Assembly. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Put *en disponibilité* on account of his marriage to a White Russian. Readmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thanks, it is believed, to the intervention of the then Prime Minister, Ismet Inönü. Was, nevertheless, relegated to posts of comparatively secondary importance. Recalled to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the death of his wife and put in charge of the Fourth Department. Subsequently consul-general in Barcelona. Appointed minister to Jedda in 1945. Recalled after four months and appointed deputy secretary-general. Secretary-general from 1947 to 1949, when he was appointed ambassador at Rio de Janeiro.

M. Carim is an unconventional type of diplomat; he is most critical and most candid. He is also quick in the uptake and clear-headed.

Speaks French, Italian and Arabic.

39. Çavuşoğlu, Muammer

Born in Kuşadasi in Izmir in 1903, he is a qualified engineer. He has had a very successful career as a civil servant in the Ministry of Public Works and was in charge of the departments concerned with town planning, building, and roads, highways and bridges. For two years M. Çavuşoğlu was Under-Secretary in the Ministry. He was elected D.P. Deputy for Izmir in May 1954 and appointed Minister of Communications in place of General Üresin (*q.v.*). As he received a part of his training in Germany, he had a preference for German railway and other equipment. He was however, favourably disposed towards United Kingdom aircraft.

He survived the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 and was appointed Minister of Public Works in the 4th Menderes Cabinet.

Married, with two children, he speaks German, French and English. His wife is most intelligent, and is an advocate for women's rights in Turkey. Both M. Çavuşoğlu and his wife are pleasant and friendly towards us.

40. Cebesoy, Ali Fuat, General

Born in Istanbul in 1882, he is said to have both German and Polish blood. Graduating from the Military School in 1905, he was Military Attaché in Rome from 1908 to 1911. During the first world war he fought on the Palestine and Caucasus fronts. He was one of the first to join Mustafa Kemal and from 1920 to 1922 he was the latter's Ambassador in Moscow, where he negotiated the Turco-Russian Treaty of 1921. Elected deputy for Ankara in 1923, he soon became associated with the opposition to Kemal and in 1924 he resigned from the People's Party and became Secretary-General of the new Progressive Party. In 1926 he was tried for participation in the alleged plot against Kemal but was acquitted. He lived in retirement until 1933, when he was elected Deputy for Konya.

He was Minister of Public Works from 1939 to 1943 and Minister of Communications from 1943 to 1946. In 1948 he was elected President of the Assembly, but was replaced later in the year because some elements in the People's Republican Party, who had the support of the President of the Republic, objected to his liberal disposition and his intimate relations with members of the Opposition. Just before the general elections of 1950 he resigned from the P.R.P. and was elected Independent Deputy for Eskişehir with Democrat Party support. When the first Democrat Government was formed he hoped to become Minister of Defence or President of the Assembly, and was disappointed when no appointment was offered to him. In 1952 he led the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom. Re-elected as an Independent Deputy on the D.P. list in May 1954.

As a Minister General Cebesoy was above the average. Parsimonious but agreeable and urbane, his tastes are essentially European. He likes bridge and is fond of the ladies. He speaks French.

41. Çelikbaş, Fethi

Born in Burdur in 1912, he studied law at Istanbul. Taking up the academic profession, he eventually became Dean of the School of Political Sciences in Ankara. In 1950 he was elected Democrat Party deputy for Burdur, and in April 1953 he was appointed Minister of State, with the responsibility for co-ordinating the economic policies of the Government. In May 1953 he became Minister of Commerce. He suffered a slight demotion in the Cabinet changes of May 1954 following the elections, when he changed posts with the Minister of State Industries, Sitki Yireali (*q.v.*).

M. Çelikbaş became out of favour with the Prime Minister and lost his place in the Cabinet to M. Ağaoğlu (*q.v.*) at the beginning of December 1954. He then became prominent as leader of a small group of intellectuals in the Democrat Party who were campaigning for a repeal of "undemocratic" laws and specifically for more liberal treatment of the Press and more independence for the judiciary. He resigned from the Democrat Party in the summer of 1955 and became one of the founder members of the Freedom Party of which he was elected a Deputy Parliamentary Group Leader in December 1955. He has since proved himself an effective debater in the Grand National Assembly and the Prime Minister himself has frequently had to speak in defence against M. Çelikbaş's attacks on the Government's economic policy.

Intelligent and critical, he is a sociable and cultivated man. He is married and speaks French well.

42. Çoşkun Salih, Lieut.-General

Born about 1898, he was commissioned about 1918 and served as an infantry officer. From 1937 to 1939 he attended the German Staff College. He was colonel in 1946, brigadier in 1947, Director of Military Training in 1950 and major-general in 1951. In 1952 he commanded the 28th Division and the following year served on the General Staff. In November 1953 he headed the Turkish group at the Balkan Pact military talks at Belgrade. He was promoted lieutenant-general in August 1954. In April 1955 he visited Pakistan with the Turkish military delegation. He is now Chief of Operations and Training. Appointed Acting Deputy Chief of the General Staff in June 1956.

General Çoşkun sometimes appears rather unpleasant and uncouth. His inspections are reported to be thorough and efficient but he is probably out of date in his tactical knowledge. He does not get on with British and American officers and in 1952 was guilty of gross discourtesy to the Military Attaché, was forced to make apologies and was switched to another job. He is married and has some knowledge of French. Lately (1955) he has seemed more friendly and one may attribute his uncouth manner, at any rate to some extent, to his language difficulties.

43. Değmer, Şefik Hüsnü, Dr.

Born in Salonika in 1887 of Dönme parents, he is a fanatical orthodox Marxist who was for many years the Secretary-General of the illegal Communist Party of Turkey. He became actively interested in communism in France during the first World War and, on his return to Turkey in 1919, he formed the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Party, which acted as a screen for the clandestine activities of the Turkish Communist Party. In 1925 he fled to Russia and was sentenced in his absence to fifteen years' imprisonment. Returning to Turkey after the amnesty in 1926, he again became active in building up the party.

In December 1946 he was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment and, although he was released during the second amnesty in 1950, he was kept under constant police supervision. As a result of this he retired from active party work in 1951, handing over the direction of the Central Committee to Zeki Bastimar (*q.v.*) and living quietly himself in Istanbul, where he practised professionally as a specialist in venereal diseases.

In February 1952 he was arrested during the general round-up of Communists. He was tried with 184 accused and on October 7, 1954, sentenced to five years and ten months' imprisonment.

44. Demirer, Arif

Born in Afyon in 1909, he entered Government service and subsequently studied economics at Munich and Berlin Universities. In 1939 he became Director-General of the State Airways and subsequently Director-General of the Posts, Telegraph and Telephone Administration. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Afyon in 1954 and appointed Minister of Communications in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

M. Demirer speaks French and German. He is agreeable and is reputed to be a good technician in the field of communications.

45. Dicleli, Vedat

Born at Diyarbekir in 1912. Educated at Galatasaray and the Paris Law Faculty. Elected a P.R.P. deputy for Diyarbekir in 1946. In June 1949 he was appointed Minister of Economy and Commerce. In 1950 he lost his seat but is still an important member of the P.R.P.

As a Minister he was very affable and friendly and did not seem to be as careful or suspicious as most Turks on first meeting. He is a doctor of law, married, with one child. He speaks good French.

46. Dülge, Mithat

Born in 1899 in Salihli (Ægean), he is a graduate of the School of Political Sciences. Governor of a sub-district (1923–24); Inspector at the Ministry of Finance (until 1931). Chairman of the Inspectors' Committee at the Turkish Agricultural Bank (1932–38), assistant director-general of the bank (1938–46), member of the board of directors, Central Bank (1946), assistant director-general, Central Bank (1946–49). He was appointed director-general of the Agricultural Bank on 1st July, 1950, after the D.P. accession to power.

An efficient administrator, Dülge has played a prominent role in the D.P. Government's policy for agricultural development throughout the country, especially by increasing the volume of agricultural credits to peasants and farmers. Dülge, who is on very good terms with the President and the Prime Minister, is married and speaks French.

47. Dülger, Bahadir

Born in Istanbul in 1911, he was educated at Galatasaray and the Istanbul Faculty of Law. A journalist by profession, he wrote for several newspapers in Istanbul until he was elected Democrat deputy for Erzurum in 1950. Since then he has been a daily contributor to the official Democrat party newspaper *Zafer*.

In 1952 he became temporary head of the Anatolian Agency, but was not a success and was replaced by Şerif Arzik (*q.v.*) in August the following year. He retained his seat in the Assembly in May 1954. He is married and speaks French.

48. Ebuzziya, Ziyad

Born in Istanbul in 1911, he was educated at Galatasaray and the Istanbul Law Faculty. Was proprietor of newspaper *Tasvir*, which was strongly pro-German in sympathy during the greater part of the war. Was unsuccessful as independent Opposition candidate for Konya in 1946, but was returned as Democrat deputy for Konya in 1950. Went to Strasbourg in 1950, 1951 and 1952 as a member of the Turkish delegation to the Council of Europe. In November 1952 he was elected a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In May 1954 he was re-elected a Deputy.

A tubercular subject, M. Ebuzziya spent much time in Switzerland during 1947–48. He is a spendthrift and was an alcoholic, and effective control of his newspaper *Tasvir* had already passed to his colleague, Cihat Baban, before it ceased publication in October 1949.

In 1955 M. Ebuzziya was again a member of the Turkish Delegation to the Council of Europe, and still Deputy for Konya. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the (inactive) Turco-British Parliamentary Group.

In the summer of 1955 he joined the Democrat Party dissidents led by M. Çelikbaş (*q.v.*) and resigned from the party. In December 1955 he became one of the founder members of the Freedom Party and a member of its Executive Council.

M. Ebuzziya is fairly intelligent but unstable. He speaks French and German well. Married to an attractive French wife, who runs a book shop.

49. Emeç, Selim Ragip

Born in 1899 in Istanbul, he is the owner and editor of *Son Posta*, an Istanbul evening paper, and a D.P. Deputy for Bursa. He studied at the Galatasaray Lycée and graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law. During World War I he served as a reserve officer in Syria and Palestine and, after the cessation of hostilities, resumed his studies at the university, at the same time contributing articles to various papers. He founded *Son Posta* in 1931. He is favourably disposed to Her Majesty's Government but is occasionally critical of Britain's trade policy towards Turkey. He speaks fluent French.

50. Eralp, Orhan

Born about 1913, a career official, he has spent a lot of his Foreign Service career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950 and 1951 he served on the Turkish Delegation to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine and was subsequently Counsellor at the Turkish Embassy in London for about a year. Transferred in early 1953 to be Head of the Second Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he still is. He accompanied President Bayar to America in 1954 and M. Zorlu (*q.v.*) to Bandoeng in 1955. He also attended the London Conference on Cyprus in August 1955 and the Suez Canal Conference in 1956 and frequently accompanies the Minister for Foreign Affairs on visits to foreign countries.

Married in 1956 to the ex-wife of one of his colleagues, M. Eralp speaks almost perfect English, and is outstanding amongst the officials at the Ministry and is obviously a coming man. He is intelligent and capable and is probably one of the very few officials in the Ministry whom the Secretary-General consults on important matters.

He is friendly and social and plays excellent golf and tennis. He is also a good bridge-player.

51. Erdelhün, Rüştü, General

Born in 1895 at Edirne of a military family, he was commissioned about 1914 and was wounded on the Caucasus front in 1917. Between the wars he passed through the Staff College. As lieutenant-colonel he served as Military attaché in Tokyo in 1933, and as Military Attaché in London from November 1939 to August 1943. By 1945 he was a brigadier-general commanding the 15th Division. After promotion and two other divisional commands, he was appointed Head of the Turkish Liaison Mission in Tokyo in November 1951. He reached the rank of lieutenant-general in August 1952. He accompanied President Bayar on his visit to the United States in February 1954, and in May was Turkish Military Representative at the Geneva Conference. In August 1954 he was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff. Appointed Commander, Second Army, in June 1956; and promoted to full general in August 1956.

General Erdelhün is a smart soldier and a considerate commander. He has charm and tact. He has been a successful military attaché, and is a conscientious and capable officer, ambitious and with a knowledge of modern ideas acquired outside his country. He has a great admiration for the British and has been helpful to the British Training Staffs in Turkey and to successive military attachés.

General Erdelhün speaks French, fairly good English, and German. His pleasant wife speaks English.

52. Ergin, Şemi

Born in Gebze in 1913, he studied law and served in various posts in the Ministry of Justice until 1947 when he resigned to take up private practice. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Manisa in 1950 and re-elected in 1954. Elected one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Grand National Assembly in May 1955 although he was not officially sponsored by the Democrat Party General Executive Council. Appointed Minister of State (responsible for land settlement, refugees and immigrants) and acting Minister of National Defence in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

M. Ergin, who speaks only Turkish, is friendly but generally unimpressive. He has, however, taken some interest in improving the welfare of the armed forces.

53. Erim, Nihat

Born at Kandira in 1912 and educated at the Galatasaray Lycée, studied law locally and at the Sorbonne. Lectured on International Law at the School of Political Sciences, was for some time legal adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and accompanied Turkish delegation to the San Francisco Conference in that capacity.

Deputy for Kocaeli until 1950, he was a member of the Turkish parliamentary delegation to England in 1947 and on his return he organised with Kasim Gülek the revolt of the thirty-five younger men, rebels of the Republican Party.

Minister of Public Works 1948–49 and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of State 1949–50. Lost his seat in the 1950 general elections and failed again in May 1954.

M. Erim, originally a protégé of Ismet Inönü, is an active, vocal and controversial member of the P.R.P. When the official party organ *Ulus* was confiscated he made his own paper *Yeni Ulus* its substitute (until the reappearance of *Ulus* in June 1955). In 1954 he carried on a violent electioneering campaign which embarrassed some sections of his own party. He was fined for the misdeeds of his paper but escaped imprisonment.

At the beginning of 1955 he changed his tactics abruptly (partly no doubt to save his skin), hob-nobbed with the Prime Minister whom he had previously vilified as a Perón-like dictator, and posed as a mediator between the leader of the P.R.P. and the Government. This caused controversy in his party, which at first rejected the policy he advocated, accusing him of insincerity and self-interest; there have been repeated threats of expulsion. In fact a phase of better inter-party relations followed, but lasted only a few months; by June 1955 the leaders of the two principal parties were again at loggerheads and M. Erim's policy was discredited. During 1955 he continued personally to be on good terms with the Prime Minister, and his relationship with M. Inönü suffered correspondingly. He now holds no office in the People's Republican Party organisation.

54. Erkin, Feridun Cemal

Born in 1898 and educated at Istanbul, he was at first destined for a business career. In 1924, however, through the influence of M. Saracoğlu (to whom he owed his later advancement) he entered the Turkish diplomatic service and from then until 1942 he served in London, Berlin and Beirut, and accompanied M. Saracoğlu on various missions.

In 1942 he was appointed Secretary-General in the Ministry, and in 1945 he was Chief Adviser to the Turkish delegation to San Francisco. In 1947 he was appointed Ambassador in Rome, and in 1948 Ambassador in Washington. In June 1955 he was transferred to Madrid and replaced by a colleague with economic experience, Haydar Görk (*q.v.*).

M. Erkin, who enjoyed the confidence of President Inönü, was expected to lose his post when the Democrats came to power in 1950, but he soon found favour with the Democrats also. One of Turkey's most intelligent diplomats, he is vain and sensitive. He is also apt to be a pessimist and an alarmist. He is married to a Bagdad lady with expensive tastes and a good mezzo-soprano voice.

55. Erkmen, Hayrettin

Born in Tirebolu in 1915, he was educated at the Istanbul School of Political Sciences and studied economics in Geneva and law in Laussanne. Until his election to the Assembly as Democrat deputy for Giresun in 1950, he was an Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Istanbul. In April 1953 he was appointed Minister of Labour. Reappointed May 1954. He is merely a safe nominee of the Prime Minister, occupying a delicate position where he is without any real power or significance. Unmarried, he speaks French and some English.

He resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in November 1955 and was not given a Ministerial post in the new Cabinet.

56. Esenbel, Melih

M. Esenbel is about 50. He was educated at the the Galatasaray Lycée and at the Law Faculty of Istanbul University. He joined the Turkish Foreign Service in 1936 as a junior secretary and served at the Consulate-General in Paris in 1939, returning to work in the Protocol Department in 1943. In 1945 he was First Secretary in Washington and became Counsellor in 1950. In 1952 he returned to the International Economic Affairs Department of the Ministry of which he later became Director-General.

In June 1954 he was promoted Minister and became Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Affairs. In this capacity he has worked in close touch with Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (*q.v.*). His methods of negotiation have not endeared him to the Americans. His subordinates find him hard to please, but they respect him as a shrewd, competent and tenacious bargainer. It is hard to pin him down to a firm statement and hold him to it.

He is allegedly unpopular amongst his colleagues and has a reputation for general unpleasantness but seems personally well disposed to us; He acts as Secretary-General in M. Birgi's (*q.v.*) absence.

57. Esin, Seyfullah

A senior member of the Turkish Foreign Service, M. Esin was born about 1900 and educated at the Galatasaray Lycée and in Germany. After being a junior secretary in Washington in 1936 he served in the Cabinet du Ministre in 1937. In 1939 he served in Buenos Aires and later in Tokyo, where he married. He was transferred to Stockholm in 1942 and back to Ankara in 1944. In 1946 he was a

Turkish delegate to the United Nations and head of the First Department in the Ministry. In 1949 he became the first Turkish representative in Tel Aviv, as Chargé d'Affaires with the rank of Minister. In 1952 he became Minister in Vienna and in September 1954 was appointed Ambassador in Moscow. In 1955 he was one of several candidates considered for the vacant post in London. But in the event he was transferred as Ambassador to Bonn.

Both M. Esin and his wife are pleasant and friendly, and western in their outlook. Both have cultivated tastes and speak English, French and German well. M. Esin was helpful to the Embassy while at the Ministry.

58. Esmer, Ahmet Şükrü

Born in 1890 of Turkish Cypriot origin and educated at Columbia University, he is a journalist by profession. A contributor to *Vakit* after the first world war, and chief editor of *Son Saat* in 1926, he was editor of *Milliyet* in the thirties, and a person of considerable importance in the journalistic world.

Elected Deputy for Istanbul in 1939, he has since visited the United Kingdom and the United States several times. After the war he became foreign editor of *Ulus;* and in 1947 he was appointed head of the Turkish Information Office in New York. In 1949 he became director-general of the Press Bureau. Having unsuccessfully contested Ankara as P.R.P. candidate in the 1950 elections he had to resign from the Press Bureau and became Professor of Diplomatic History at the School of Political Science. He is also diplomatic correspondent of *Ulus*. A member of the Turkish Press delegation to the United Kingdom in September 1953. An unsuccessful candidate in the general elections in May 1954.

Western in outlook, and particularly pro-American, M. Esmer looks considerably less than his age. A keen student of foreign affairs, in which he is widely read. He has a tendency to detect the remnants of "imperialism" in British foreign policy. He has, however, been sound in his commentaries on the Enosis question, following an educative visit to Cyprus in 1955, and has since shown a generally more friendly and sympathetic attitude to Britain. He became chairman of the Turkish branch of the Atlantic Association in January 1956.

He speaks excellent English and French and knows some German. His Finnish wife speaks good English.

59. Ete, Mahlis

Born in 1904, he studied economics and holds a German university degree. From 1930 to 1939 he held various academic posts in Istanbul teaching political economy and financial legislation, money and statistics on which subjects he has published a number of treatises. Formerly a member of the Supervising Council of the Prime Minister's Department, he was elected Democrat deputy in 1950 and became Minister of State Industries in the first Democrat Government. In the Cabinet reshuffle of March 1951 he became Minister of Commerce and Economy. In June 1952 the Prime Minister, wishing to reshuffle his Cabinet, invited him to return to the Ministry of State Industries. M. Ete took this as a slight and resigned. Re-elected a Deputy, May 1954. Also elected a Vice-President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, May 1954.

A knowledgeable and capable Minister, but rather vain and pedantic. He often criticised State monopoly during the P.R.P. administration and was largely responsible for formulating the Democrat Party policy of transferring State industries to private enterprise. He speaks French and German and a very little English, and his wife speaks English.

He resigned from the D.P. in late 1955 and, after some delay, joined the Freedom Party, on whose behalf he has since been prominent in economic debates in the Grand National Assembly.

60. Fenik, Mümtaz Faik

Born in Istanbul in 1904. A graduate of the Istanbul faculty of law, he took up journalism early and worked on the staff of several Istanbul newspapers. In 1937 he moved to Ankara to become the principal sub-editor of *Ulus*. After the signing of the Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty of 1939, he received a special assignment from the People's Republican Party to write a history of the British Empire, which was widely distributed in the Party.

In 1946 M. Fenik, who was no longer a supporter of the People's Republican Party, was dismissed from *Ulus* and returned to Istanbul to work with Yalman (*q.v.*). Returning to Ankara in 1949, he became a Democrat Party press officer and started *Zafer*, which has developed into the official organ of the Democrat Party. Imprisoned for a press offence early in 1950, he was released after his election as a Democrat Deputy for Ankara in May 1950.

In 1951 M. Fenik led the Turkish press delegation to the United Kingdom. In November 1952 he was elected member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly. Emotional and very touchy, he needs careful handling: some of his unbalanced leading articles have got him into trouble with his own party, many of whom can now see that he is a liability. In 1952 he lost his exclusive control of *Zafer*, for which the Democrat Party appointed a committee of management. He was re-elected a Deputy in 1954. He was ousted from *Zafer* in 1955. His influence has diminished as his favour with the Prime Minister declined.

An average writer and an undistinguished editor, M. Fenik is a close friend of President Celal Bayar. He has indulged in vicious attacks against us, notably in connexion with our commercial differences with Turkey. He finds writing difficult and is said to seek inspiration from the bottle. He speaks French. His wife, also a journalist, was elected to the Ankara Municipality in September 1950.

61. Gedik, Namik

Born in Istanbul in 1911, he studied at the Medical Faculty of Istanbul University and as a doctor specialised in internal diseases. Has for some years been a specialist in the T.B. section of the Haydarpaşa Hospital in Istanbul. Married with two children, M. Gedik speaks French. He was elected D.P. Deputy for Aydin in 1950 and was re-elected there in 1954. Appointed Minister of the Interior in May 1954 in succession to Ethem Menderes (*q.v.*).

He resigned after the riots of September 1955 and was replaced at the Ministry of the Interior by Ethem Menderes. Although apparently on good terms with the Prime Minister, he was not appointed to the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955. Elected Leader of the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group after the resignation of Dr. Burhanettin Onat in May 1956.

62. Gidel, Nail

Born in Vodena in 1907, and educated at the School of Political Sciences and in Paris, he joined the Ministry of Interior and served in the provinces as well as in Ankara. In 1936 he joined the Ministry of Finance as assistant accountant, and by 1950 had risen to be Director-General of the Treasury. In 1953 he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and acting as Under-Secretary until July, when he was appointed Director-General of the Central Bank.

Personally charming and friendly, he was notoriously "difficult" as Director-General of the Treasury. He is rarely, and his wife never, seen in society. He speaks good French.

63. Gökay, Fahrettin Kerim

Born about 1892 at Eskişehir, the son of a local merchant. Graduated from the Istanbul medical faculty in 1922 and later studied mental diseases in Munich. In 1926 he was appointed lecturer, and in 1933 professor, of mental diseases at the Istanbul medical faculty. A long-standing member of the People's Republican Party, he was suddenly appointed Vali and Mayor of Istanbul in 1949. He had the wisdom to resign from the party on this appointment and has managed to retain his post in spite of the Democrat Party's victory in the 1950 general elections. In the spring of 1953 he made an extensive tour of the United States at the invitation of the State Department. Remained as Vali after general elections in May 1954.

Formerly president of the Green Crescent (the Turkish anti-alcoholic league) he is still noted for his severity to drinks. He is a diminutive but energetic and businesslike man, and he has shown himself to be an able if officious administrator. He has, however, been criticised for showing more interest in trips abroad than in the problems of Istanbul. He is pompous but friendly. He speaks French and German and his wife speaks English.

He came well out of the Istanbul riots in September 1955 although there were frequent rumours afterwards that the Government were going to make him a scapegoat. It was, however, generally felt that he was blameless and he still survives as Vali and Mayor of Istanbul.

Paid an official visit to Paris in April 1956.

64. Göksenin, Muzaffer, General

General Göksenin was born at Monastir in 1889. He joined the Army in 1915 and served as a cavalry officer in Palestine, where he was taken prisoner by the British forces. He returned to Turkey in 1920 and took part in the War of Independence. After taking flying courses at Izmir and in France, he was made Director of Flying at the Aircraft School at Eskişehir, where he stayed from 1927 until 1947. From 1947 to 1949 he was Under-Secretary for Air in the Ministry of National Defence and in 1950 he became Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Air Force. In that position he co-operated well with the United States Mission. He resigned from the Air Force owing to a dispute over the Turkish Air Force Budget for 1953–54.

In 1953 he was appointed Governor of Izmir. Although bitterly disappointed at having to leave the Air Force, he was popular in his new position and active in promoting the welfare of the Vilayet.

In November 1954 he was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Bagdad, but has not shown the ability needed to play a full and constructive part in the Bagdad Pact Organisation.

Forceful and hard-working as an officer, General Göksenin is very anglophil and speaks English well. For a Turk he has a keen sense of humour. His wife always accompanied him to social engagements in Ankara but was rarely seen in public in Izmir. She speaks no English. He has a daughter who speaks some English.

65. Göktürk, Hüseyin Avni

Born in Nigde in 1901, he studied Law and was appointed to the Council of State. He subsequently studied law at Geneva and Berlin Universities. He then became Professor of Civil Law at Ankara University and, in 1946, Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Labour. Appointed Minister of Justice in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

M. Göktürk speaks French, German and some English. Although he is by reputation an honest and competent lawyer and not a "Menderes man," he has so far been completely subservient to the Prime Minister's wishes, especially over the summary dismissal of a number of judges, including members of the Court of Cassation, in the summer of 1956.

66. Görk, Haydar

Born in Istanbul in 1904 he studied at the American Robert College and later attended the faculty of Political Science at the University of Paris. He entered the Turkish Foreign Service in 1929 and served in Moscow, Rome, Tokyo (1943) and Warsaw (1946). He returned to Ankara in 1949 and in 1950 was appointed Director-General of the International Economic Affairs Department. In 1952 he became Deputy Secretary-General for Economic and Commercial Affairs in which he has specialised.

In June 1954 he moved to the Presidency as Secretary-General with the personal rank of Ambassador. In May 1955 he was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Washington.

M. Görk is rather taciturn but intelligent, and a tough negotiator.

He speaks French and English. His wife is shy and undistinguished; she is learning English. They have no children.

67. Gülek, Kasim

Born at Adana in 1906 of a prosperous family, he studied economics at Columbia University and for a short time at Cambridge. He was deputy for Seyhan (Adana) until 1950 and from 1943 was a member of the Executive Committee of the P.R.P.

Having helped to form the young or "liberal" wing of the P.R.P., he was appointed Minister of Public Works in 1947 and Minister of Communications in 1948. He was dropped from the Gunaltay Cabinet in 1949, probably owing to his unpopularity with the Right wing of the P.R.P.

During 1949 he was a Turkish delegate to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and was later Chairman of the United Nations Commission in Korea. He lost his seat in the 1950 general elections but was soon after elected Secretary-General of the P.R.P. Since then he has been the party's chief spokesman and organiser: his popularity with the rank and file of the party was demonstrated at the 1953 Congress, when, in spite of opposition from other leading members of the party, he was re-elected secretary-general. He has naturally come in for some criticism as a result of the failure of the party at the 1954 polls, and he himself was an unsuccessful candidate. But, in spite of a certain amount of opposition, he was re-elected Secretary-General by an overwhelming majority at the Congress in 1956.

M. Gülek is a strong but controversial personality in his party, and though never openly disloyal to the leader, Ismet Inönü, he clearly differs from him strongly, especially over conduct towards the Democrat Party. He was not in favour of the tactics of moderation proposed by Nihat Erim (*q.v.*) in January 1955 while he was away on a lecture tour in the United States—where he behaved with restraint. But his language was reasonably conciliatory until by June it had become clear that the Government had nothing to offer the Opposition except fair words. He is at his best when condemning the anti-democratic practices of the Menderes régime, but not so convincing when he attacks the Government's economic policy as he

appears to have no constructive alternative suggestion. He constantly calls for economic planning and for Turkey to live within her means, and his recent speeches on the economic crisis have angered the Prime Minister. The Government accused him in 1955 of causing artificial shortages and price increases by propaganda, but he was eventually acquitted by the Court in 1956. In August 1955 he was arrested (which he greatly enjoyed) during a tour of the Black Sea coast and charged with casting doubts on the legitimacy of the Grand National Assembly at a Press conference. He was quickly released, but in June 1956 he was sentenced by the Court to one year's imprisonment followed by four months' banishment to Bursa. He has appealed against the sentence.

M. Gülek is cultivated and intelligent, and very energetic, but he is often wild in his statements. As a Minister he was efficient and helpful to us; as an ambitious and unscrupulous opponent, he has often provoked the Democrats grievously, but his extreme statements and clumsy tactics have sometimes made him look foolish. He has recently become more irresponsible and less constructive in his criticisms of the Government and is now the main "red rag" to the Democrat Party bull. He speaks nine or ten languages, including excellent English. He is not married.

68. Günaltay, Şemsettin

Born in 1882, he was elected deputy for Sivas in 1926. He became in 1930 a member of the Committee of Public Construction of the Grand National Assembly. In 1939 he was elected a vice-president of the G.N.A. and a professor of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography at Ankara University. In January 1949 he was appointed Prime Minister in succession to Hasan Saka.

His undistinguished period of office was brought to an end by the 1950 general elections, in which the Democrat Party were returned to power: he himself was elected P.R.P. deputy for Erzincan, and is chairman of the P.R.P. Disciplinary Committee.

Early in 1925 M. Günaltay suggested some important changes in the P.R.P. organisation, but these were resisted by ex-President Inönu. M. Günaltay threatened to leave the P.R.P. and form a new party; but the breach was averted and by the summer of 1953 he was again in the good graces of Inönü and the party and his influence had increased. Not re-elected in May 1954.

M. Günaltay came into prominence again in June 1955, causing controversy and dissension in the P.R.P., when he publicly criticised its administration and conduct as an Opposition party, and subsequently resigned from his important party office as chairman of the Disciplinary Council. His criticisms implied that he favoured a more moderate policy. His name was linked with that of Nihat Erim (*q.v.*), and there were again reports that he would try to set up a new party. It does not seem that he has sufficient following to attempt this.

He was the sole opponent to M. Inönü for the leadership of the People's Republican Party at the Congress in May 1956, but received only one vote (M. Inonu's).

Speaks Arabic, Persian and some French, and was known at one time for his fervent devotion to the Moslem religion.

69. Güreli, Enver

Born in Burhaniye in 1914, he is a graduate of the School of Political Science in Ankara. He served in various commercial departments of the Government until he was elected Democrat deputy for Balikesir in the general elections of 1950.

In June 1952 he was appointed Minister of Commerce. A rather unstable character, he was emotionally upset by Britain's failure to buy Turkish; and in March 1953 he made a wild and violent statement threatening to retaliate on British goods.

He resigned in May 1953. No reason was given: he was probably at loggerheads with the Prime Minister. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. In 1955 he was a member of the group of dissident D.P. Deputies led by Fethi Çelikbaş (*q.v.*); and he eventually resigned from the Democrat Party and became one of the founder members of the Freedom Party. He was elected Deputy Leader of the Party in December 1955 and a member of the Executive Council.

70. Hikmet, Nazim

A leading Turkish Marxist. Aged about 50. Is the most distinguished modern Turkish poet after Yahya Kemal, who is the representative of the traditionalist school. Is a nephew on his mother's side of General Ali Fuat Cebesoy and has both German and Polish blood. Has written much poetry and one or two novels which are greatly admired in Turkey and circulate secretly among many non-Communists. Celal Bayar, who was Prime Minister in 1937 when Nazim Hikmet was condemned to twenty-nine years' penal servitude, once stated that he always kept Nazim Hikmet's poems by his bed.

Nazim Hikmet was condemned by court-martial in 1937 for spreading Communist propaganda among officers, and at the same time a number of young officers were shot. He was sent to serve the first part of his sentence in the hold of the battleship *Selim Yavuz*. There he contracted tuberculosis and through the influence of powerful friends was transferred to Bursa jail. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to get him released, particularly by General Cebesoy (*q.v.*) and M. Yalman (*q.v.*).

He was finally released under the general amnesty of 1950, and lived quietly in Istanbul until June 1951, when he escaped through Roumania to Moscow. He is the nominal leader of the Turkish Communists in exile and a prominent Peace Partisan. He attended the Berlin Youth Festival and the Warsaw Congress of the International Union of Students in 1951. He also represented Turkey at the World Peace Council meetings in Berlin (1952), Peking (1952), Budapest (1953), Vienna (1953) and East Berlin (1954). In 1954 he was appointed a member of the World Peace Council Bureau. He still broadcasts from behind the Iron Curtain, and in 1955 intervened in this way in the Cyprus question. Articles of his are also published in the Cominform journal, the *New Times*. He visited Warsaw in 1956 with Zekeriya Sertel (another Turkish Communist) at the invitation of the Polish Peace Defenders' Committee.

71. Hüsman, Hadi

Born in Gümüşhane in 1904, he studied political science at Ankara University and served for many years in various posts in the Ministry of Finance. Became Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in 1942 and Director-General of Monopolies in 1949. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Istanbul in 1950 and re-elected in 1954. Since his election he has served on the Grand National Assembly Budget Commission and was the Commission's *rapporteur* during the Budget Debates. Appointed Minister of Customs and Monopolies in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955. Speaks French.

72. Ileri, Tevfik

Born 1912. Studied engineering and held various technical posts in the Ministry of Public Works. Elected Democrat deputy for Samsun in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Communications in the first Democrat Government, and was transferred to Education to replace M. Başman (*q.v.*) three months later.

An extreme nationalist, M. Ileri spent much energy in ridding the schools of those suspected of fellow-travelling. His zeal to promote religious education made him unpopular with the intellectuals; and he was forced to resign in April 1953, largely on account of his encouragement to the Association of Nationalists, which had been convicted of extremism and suppressed. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954, and elected Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly. He is energetic and stubborn but not very bright.

73. Ilkin, Nedim Veysel

Born about 1899. Member of Turkish diplomatic service. Was for many years on staff of the Turkish Consulate at Geneva and thereby closely associated with the permanent Turkish delegation. Returned to Ankara and from 1939 until 1944 was private secretary to M. Saracoğlu. Became Director-General of the Press Bureau with the rank of Minister in 1944.

In March 1948 he was appointed Turkish Minister at The Hague, but was hastily recalled after a scene over his official invitation to the Coronation of Queen Juliana (M. Ilkin appears to have been rather stupid and the Dutch excessively *protocolaire*) and in 1949 he was appointed Turkish Minister at Brussels. In autumn 1952 he was appointed first Turkish Ambassador to Iraq, and transferred to Prague in December 1953.

M. Ilkin is a steady, competent, though rather featureless, official. He probably lacks drive. He is, however, well disposed and in principle willing enough to co-operate.

74. Inönü, Ismet, General

Born in Izmir in 1880 and brought up in Malatya, where his father was a minor official. Educated at the Military College, he served in Thrace and the Yemen and joined the General Staff in 1914. In 1915, he was Chief of Staff of the Caucasus army, and he served in Palestine in 1917 and 1918. In 1920 he joined Mustafa Kemal and soon became his Chief of Staff.

After the defeat of the Greeks he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and as such signed the Treaty of Lausanne (at which he had been chief Turkish negotiator) in 1923. He was Prime Minister, with one short break at the end of 1924, from 1923 to 1937. Since 1923 he has also been Chairman of the P.R.P. During his period as Prime Minister he paid official visits to Moscow and Rome in 1932, to Sofia in 1923 and to Belgrade in 1937. In 1937, too, he represented Turkey at the Coronation of His Majesty King George VI. Often criticised, or thought to be in disagreement with Atatürk, he triumphed over all his critics until autumn 1937 when he resigned and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Celal Bayar.

On the death of Atatürk in 1938 he was elected President of the Republic. He soon dismissed from power several of the wilder members of Atatürk's entourage, and it was generally thought that he was responsible for the revelation of a number of financial scandals which resulted in the resignation of Celal Bayar and the dismissal of a number of Government officials in 1939.

During the second world war he showed himself a supporter of the pro-British policy initiated by Atatürk, and his meetings with President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill in Cairo in December 1943 gave him much personal pleasure.

During 1945 he came to the conclusion that there was no adequate successor to himself as head of a one-party Government and that a two-party system must be inaugurated and an Opposition party educated up to its responsibilities. However, he was alarmed at the unexpected strength which the Opposition showed during the electoral campaign of 1946, and he allowed interference with the elections in favour of the P.R.P.

In the free general elections of 1950 which resulted in the overwhelming defeat of his party, he was himself returned by a small majority in Malatya. He remains chairman of the P.R.P. and leader of the Opposition in the Assembly (though the party no longer regard his will as absolute).

In his army days Inönü was regarded as an exceptionally capable and indefatigable staff officer, and much of the credit for the defeat of the Greeks in 1922 must go to him. At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator. He was prepared to execute Atatürk's reforms thoroughly and relentlessly. As President he had neither the greatness nor the popular appeal of Atatürk, and his respectable domestic life was less colourful. Nevertheless, he enjoyed great respect and his word was law.

The measure of his unpopularity was shown in the general elections of 1950. Once he was out of office his enemies began to blacken his reputation, but he retained his position as an elder statesman in spite of this and of his evidently failing powers. His campaigning prior to the May 1954 general election (in which he kept his seat as a Deputy) was curiously inept and his main criticisms of the Government had little popular appeal, being directed chiefly against the measures for attracting and facilitating foreign investment. His repute also suffered in a series of acrimonious exchanges with M. Menderes. Nevertheless, M. Inönü is still a national figure and must personally have attracted very many of the votes cast for his defeated party. He appears to have little more to offer now, and has not been able to put forward any real alternative to the present Government.

In the spring of 1955, following manoeuvres by Nihat Erim (*q.v.*) towards a *détente* between the P.R.P. and the D.P., the Prime Minister made conciliatory gestures towards M. Inönü and for a short time they were outwardly on terms of cordiality. But by mid-summer acrimony and bitterness had returned and it was clear that, fundamentally, nothing had changed. Since then their relations have deteriorated further. M. Inönü attacked the Prime Minister strongly in connection with the riots of September 1955 and has been outspoken in his criticism of Government policy on all other major issues. Although he has no practical alternatives to offer, his utterances are generally statesmanlike and untainted with demagogy, and he still commands a good deal of respect in the Grand National Assembly. He was unanimously re-elected chairman of the People's Republican Party at the Congress in May 1956.

He has been a consistent friend of Britain, and is a wise and cultivated man. Unruffled and courteous, he suffers from deafness, which he probably finds convenient at times. He is married and has three children.

75. Kalafat, Emin

Born in Salonika in 1902, he studied at the School of Political Sciences in Istanbul, specialising in Finance and Economy. He was a chief inspector at the Ministry of Finance until May 1950, when he was elected Democrat Party Deputy for Çanakkale. During the 1952 budget debates he took a leading part during the Committee stage and together with his friend, Fethi Çelikbaş (*q.v.*), strongly criticised the Government policy. The two men concentrated their attack on Samet Ağaoğlu (*q.v.*) and, although the Prime Minister offered both

new Ministerial appointments, they refused to enter the Cabinet until Samet had been dismissed. The Prime Minister shortly afterwards met their request and M. Kalafat became Minister of Customs and Monopolies in April 1953. He was reappointed on the formation of the new Government in May 1954 when he relinquished his seat at Çanakkale.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Democrat Party, M. Kalafat is a diminutive but energetic man, well thought of by the leaders of the Democrat Party. He has always been considered a moderate and is said to be concerned at the present course of Government policy. He survived the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 and was appointed as Minister of State, responsible principally for Press affairs, in the 4th Menderes Cabinet. He is married and speaks Turkish only.

76. Kapani, Osman

Born in Izmir in 1915, he studied in France and Germany, soon became a prominent lawyer in Izmir and was chief leader writer in the newspaper *Demokrat Izmir*. Elected Democrat deputy for Izmir in 1950, he is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly and a Turkish delegate to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe since 1950. In September 1952 he was nominated Minister in Brussels but he refused the appointment and in November 1952 he was elected deputy chairman of the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group. Appointed a Minister of State in May 1954, he was responsible for various administrative branches of government, including land problems and the resettlement of refugees. He resigned in September 1955 presumably because of his responsibility for refugees and students, and their share in the September riots. But he had many enemies in the Democrat Party. He has not been prominent since, and is now one of the three Democrat Party Inspectors for Istanbul.

M. Kapani is friendly to us, but socially he is rather trying, for he is a persistent and pompous bore with little sense of humour. He prides himself on his knowledge of foreign affairs, and is very sensitive on matters affecting Turkey's prestige as a European country.

He speaks French and German and a very little English.

77. Karaosmanoğlu, Fevzi Lütfi

Born in Manisa in 1900 of a historic family, he is a wealthy farmer, but in his youth he worked as a journalist.

Elected Democrat deputy for Manisa in 1950, he was soon afterwards appointed Minister of State for Marshall Aid. He was dropped from the Cabinet in March 1951 but reappointed Minister of State in June 1951. Meanwhile, however, the responsibility for Marshall Aid affairs, over which he had disagreed with the Prime Minister, had been transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In December 1951 he was appointed Minister of the Interior, but in April 1952, after one of his many disagreements with Samet Ağaoğlu, who had the Prime Minister's backing, he resigned from the Government.

Karaosmanoğlu was one of the most popular and influential leaders of the Democrat Party; he strongly criticised the Government for pursuing a repressive policy after the 1954 elections, and his relations with the Prime Minister suffered accordingly. His prestige in the Democrat Party, particularly in the Ægean area, is high. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954.

In 1955 his relations with the Prime Minister again declined and he resigned from the Democrat Party. He was elected Leader of the Freedom Party at its foundation in December 1955. Although Party Leader, he has not been prominent in Freedom Party campaigning for support and it may be that he was chosen for his influential name and general reputation. In the Grand National Assembly he leaves the debating mainly to Fethi Çelikbaş (*q.v.*) and the younger members of the party.

A fall from a horse affected his spine and gave him the appearance of a hunchback. He is married and understands but does not speak French. His strength lies in his integrity and obvious sincerity.

78. Kaşur, Şadi

Born about 1905, he is a career member of the Turkish Foreign Service. He was "Chef de Cabinet" to the Minister in 1944 and in the following year was a member of the Turkish Economic Mission to the United Kingdom. In September 1945 he became Counsellor in London and acted as Chargé d'Affaires. He returned to Ankara in 1950 and in 1952 became the first Director-General of the newly-formed N.A.T.O. Department with the rank of Minister. At the end of April 1955 he was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Belgrade.

He has been most friendly and helpful and, while not brilliant, is well above the average level of competence among his colleagues. He has a pleasant personality and speaks good English. He is divorced.

79. Kiliçlioğlu, Safa

Born about 1910, of Syrian origin, he is the son of a former member of the Syrian secret police. Educated in Arab countries, he settled in Istanbul at the age of 16 and, as a servant of a member of the Presidential staff, was given employment at the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1928. He left this post in disgrace and was at one time suspected of being an agent of the Bagdad secret police.

He joined the Democrat Party on its foundation but was expelled for his ceaseless intrigues. He then joined the National Party and before long secured absolute control of the Istanbul daily paper *Yeni Sabah*, which was the party's official organ. He still owns the paper, which is one of the most powerful and influential in Turkey, but which has repeatedly been accused by the present Government of attempting to exploit religious feeling and reaction. During the 1954 elections the paper supported the R.N.P.

A man of little education, M. Kiliçlioğlu has been a vehement critic of the Democrat Government and, in particular, the Prime Minister. But early in 1955 (at a time when he was facing a charge of inciting public opinion by his serialisation of a story on life in Moscow) he improved his relations with the Prime Minister, and accompanied him on his official visit to Iraq; his paper has modified its criticisms of the Government accordingly.

He speaks some French but no English.

80. Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat

Born in Istanbul in 1890, he is a descendant of the famous family of Grand Viziers and enjoys some prestige as the bearer of one of the very few surviving historical names in Turkey.

Köprülü became a professor of history at the University of Istanbul at the age of 23. Between the two world wars his oriental scholarship received international recognition: honoured by several continental universities, he visited Russia in 1925 and 1929, Czechoslovakia in 1929 and Tehran in 1934. His best known works are his contributions to the "Encyclopedia of Islam," and he was a leading authority on the history of the Shahs of Khwarizm and the Azerbaijan and Çagatay Turks.

Deputy for Kars for many years, he was Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1934. He was one of the original founders of the Democrat Party and a prominent critic of successive R.P.P. Governments: in May 1950 he was elected Democrat Deputy for Istanbul and was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He worked persistently for the inclusion of Turkey in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, and his final success during 1951 and 1952 enhanced his prestige and seemed to justify his methods. The Tripartite Treaty with Greece and Yugoslavia, signed in 1953, and the ceremonial visits surrounding it, have fed his vanity even more. He is a thoroughgoing enemy of the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister, M. Menderes, always exerted a strong influence on M. Köprülü's policies. He was criticised for his handling of the expulsion of the Turkish Ambassador from Cairo in 1954 (Hulusi Tugay) and his lack of prominence during the negotiations prior to the agreement between Pakistan and Turkey gave rise to speculation that he would be replaced as Minister for Foreign Affairs. It became more and more obvious that the Prime Minister was taking the conduct of foreign affairs into his own hands, and M. Köprülü, though accompanying M. Menderes on his visits to Middle East capitals, played little part in the negotiations for the Turco-Iraqi Pact. It therefore came as no surprise when in April 1955 the Prime Minister took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and M. Köprülü became merely another Minister of State. After a period of comparative obscurity he re-emerged in December 1955 as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Fourth Menderes Cabinet. But his relations with the Prime Minister soon deteriorated, partly as a result of the Prime Minister's high-handed action over two of Professor Köprülü's relatives in the Democrat Party. He eventually resigned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in June 1956, probably because of his disgust at the white-washing of Mükerrem Sarol (*q.v.*); and although it has been said that he has a large following in the Party and is a potential successor to M. Menderes, the conviction is growing that his political career is finished.

He speaks fluent French. His wife, whom he met when she attended his lectures as a student at the Istanbul University, is not easy to entertain, though she speaks some German and is now making some progress with English, which she likes to practise. His daughter, who recently married a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speaks English.

81. Koraltan, Refik

Deputy for Içel, Koraltan was born in 1899 at Divrik in Central Anatolia. Having graduated from the Law Faculty in Istanbul, he practised law for some time. He played a role of some importance in the War of Independence as president of the fifth Independence Court responsible for Central Anatolia. From 1920-35 he was Deputy for Konya. Since 1943 he has been Deputy for Içel.

One of the original founders of the Democrat Party, he was rewarded with the office of chairman of the National Assembly in 1950 which he retains. He is an adequate figurehead. By the Constitution he acts as President of the Republic when the latter is out of the country. He now appears to play little part in political life, although he controls Assembly debates with a strong Governmental bias and in the manner of a parade-ground sergeant-major. He headed Parliamentary delegations to Iraq and Italy in 1956.

He is married, has four children, and speaks a very little French. He is friendly, but rather slow-witted, and extremely vain.

82. Kürez, Nafiz

Born in Kula in 1909, he graduated in medicine and served with the Ministry of Health. A specialist in internal diseases.

Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Manisa in 1950 and re-elected in 1954. Appointed Minister of Health in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

83. Korur, Ahmet Salih

Born about 1910 and educated at the School of Political Sciences, he became a Civil Servant and in 1947 was appointed Director-General of the Land Registry. Whilst in this post he earned the gratitude of Adnan Menderes, whose lands in Aydin he is said to have defended against P.R.P. designs.

After the victory of the Democrat Party in the 1950 elections, he emerged from comparative obscurity to become Under-Secretary to the new Prime Minister, M. Menderes. In 1952 to 1953 he was for sometime also acting Under-Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior. He was a member of the Turkish delegation to the Coronation of Her Majesty The Queen, and returned much impressed.

Intelligent, but brusque and unpopular, M. Korur lives on the Prime Minister's favour. In 1954 he was appointed Under-Secretary of State at the Prime Ministry, where he has become increasingly influential as more administrative work has been delegated to him by the busy Premier. A coming man. He is married and speaks only Turkish.

84. Korutürk, Fahri, Admiral

Born in 1904 and commissioned in the Turkish Navy in 1923. A submarine specialist, he was Naval Attaché in Rome, Berlin and Stockholm. Appointed Director of Intelligence of the Turkish General Staff in 1954 and Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Fleet, in 1955. Replaced by Admiral Ulusan (*q.v.*) in August 1956 and appointed Commander, Straits and Marmara.

Admiral Korutürk, who is married to a rich and well-connected wife, is one of the best Turkish naval officers. He is efficient and has a strong personality. Although outwardly dour, he is in fact pleasant and co-operative.

85. Köymen, Hulusi

Born in Istanbul in 1891, he studied law and later practised as a lawyer. In June 1949 he became a member of the Administrative Council of the Democrat Party, and in May 1950 he was elected Democrat deputy for Bursa and vice-president of the Grand National Assembly. In December 1950 he was appointed Minister of Labour, and in the Cabinet reshuffle of March 1951 he was transferred to the Ministry of National Defence. In November 1942, he resigned from the Ministry of Defence and was elected chairman of the Democrat Party Parliamentary Group and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly. In January 1953, he led the Turkish Parliamentary delegation to Yugoslavia. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. In January 1955 he was in the Prime Minister's party for his official visit to Bagdad and Beirut.

He is married and has two children. He speaks Turkish only.

86. Küfrevi, Kasim

Born in Bitlis in 1920, he followed Islamic studies at Istanbul University and was then on the staff of the Literature Faculty at the university. He was elected Democrat Deputy for Agri in 1950 and retained this seat in 1954. In 1955 he worked with Fethi Çelikbaş (*q.v.*) to form an Opposition group of young Deputies within the Democrat Party. He resigned from the Party in the summer of 1955 and

has since remained an Independent, resolutely declining to join the Freedom Party allegedly because it might prejudice the Government against his Kurdish Constituents.

A Kurd, he is lively and intelligent and speaks fluent English, Arabic and Persian. Married with one child.

87. Kural, Adnan

M. Kural is one of the abler members of the Turkish Foreign Service. In September 1945 he returned to the Ministry after being first secretary in Moscow. In 1948 he was a member of the Turkish Delegation to the United Nations. From 1951 to 1955 he was in the Third Department of the Ministry dealing with international organisations, and from 1952, on promotion to Minister, he was head of the department. He co-operated closely with the Embassy and showed sound judgment and considerable intelligence.

In February 1955 he was nominated Turkish Ambassador to Syria, at a particularly critical time for Turco-Syrian relations. He took up his post the following month and made a favourable impression in Damascus.

He is either separated or divorced from his intelligent wife. He speaks very good English and excellent French.

88. Kurtbek, Seyfi

Born in 1905 and educated at the Istanbul Military School and War Academy. He spent most of his life in the army, was a military attaché in Paris before the war and in Greece during the early part of the war. Later in the war he was a military observer attached to the British Eighth Army. By 1950 he was a staff colonel and acting head of the Mobilisation Department. On the eve of the 1950 general elections he resigned and joined the Democrat Party, wrote some articles for the Democrat Party newspaper advocating a reduction of military expenditure, and was elected Democrat deputy for Ankara. In August 1950 he was appointed Minister of Communications and in November 1952 he became Minister of National Defence.

Colonel Kurtbek was an energetic, ambitious and intrepid staff officer and wrote several books on military subjects. His position as Minister was resented by many senior officers who would not tolerate being subordinate to an ex-colonel, and this led to his resignation in 1953, when he appeared to lose the support of the Prime Minister. He was re-elected a Deputy in May 1954. In 1955 he was associated with Fethi Çelikbaş (*q.v.*) in the dissident group of intellectuals within the Democrat Party. In the event he remained in the Democrat Party and withdrew his support from the dissidents.

He is reserved and inconspicuous but determined and obstinate. He speaks French and some English.

89. Mandalinci, Zeyyat

Born in Bodrum in 1915, he studied Political Science in Paris and then went into business. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Mugla in 1950 and re-elected in 1954. Has three times represented Turkey at the Council of Europe and became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Grand National Assembly in 1952. Appointed Minister of Economy and Commerce in place of M. Fahrettin Ulus (*q.v.*) in May 1956. His main interest is Foreign Affairs and he appears to have no technical qualifications for his new post. He has the reputation of being a sound "Menderes man" and has made a good job of presenting the scrappy so-called economic reforms to the Assembly. His actions so far show little evidence of a genuine effort to form a sound overall economic policy.

He speaks French and English.

90. Mavroudi, Constantino T.

Born in a village between Silivri and Istanbul on December 9, 1884, he was educated at Galatasaray, Istanbul and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1901. During his career in the Foreign Service of the Ottoman Empire he served in Athens, Batoum, Belgrade, Rome, London (1912), Rome again and finally Washington. He left the service in 1917 and for a time worked in banking and business circles. In 1926 he was Secretary to the British Agent on the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal and in 1929 joined *The Times* of London as assistant correspondent in Istanbul. He became full correspondent in 1940 and a staff correspondent in 1941. A well-known figure in Turkish political and journalistic circles, he is a well-informed and reliable observer, but now rather a past number and looking forward to his retirement.

Since the riots of September 1955 there has been a good deal of private criticism of M. Mavroudi's reporting, especially on Cyprus, in view of his alleged pro-Greek sympathies. His health has lately been failing.

91. Menderes, Adnan

Born in Aydin in 1899. He graduated from the Law Faculty of Istanbul University and learnt English in Izmir. He served throughout the War of Independence as a reserve officer. A large landowner in Aydin and practical farmer, M. Menderes became chairman of the People's Party in Aydin, and in 1933 he was elected Deputy for that place and became a member of the Finance Commission of the National Assembly.

A strong critic of the Land Reform Law of 1945, he took a leading part in the formation of the Democrat Party, was elected Democrat Deputy for Kütahya in 1946, and soon became well known as one of the most powerful Opposition speakers in the Assembly.

After his party's victory in the 1950 general elections, M. Menderes became first Democrat Prime Minister, and after M. Bayar's election to the Presidency of the Republic he was elected chairman of the Democrat Party. His ability, dynamic personality and forceful oratory had already elevated him to a position of complete domination among his Ministers and in the party.

On coming to power, M. Menderes embarked on an extensive programme of capital construction and industrialisation far beyond the resources of the country. His rule became more personal and more intolerant of criticism as his power and confidence increased. Already in 1952 two Ministers and a high party official resigned as a protest against his high-handedness. Before the elections of 1954, he forced through the Assembly measures designed to place the P.R.P. Opposition at a disadvantage, notably confiscation of the P.R.P.'s properties and restrictions on the freedom of the Press.

In May 1954 M. Menderes' Democrat Party was returned to power with a large majority, due more to his genuine achievements than to these partisan laws, and his prestige reached its height. However, his authoritarian tendencies further increased and more laws were passed to cripple the Opposition. By now the country's economic development was outrunning its sources of credit and M. Menderes' hopes to save the situation by means of a large loan from the United States in the spring of 1955 were disappointed.

From time to time M. Menderes has made conciliatory approaches towards the Opposition and invited them to collaborate in Parliamentary government on an amicable basis. But any criticism at once stung him to further attacks, and since mid-1955 his relations with the Opposition parties have been consistently bitter. Criticism of M. Menderes' policies abroad at the end of 1954 also excited his resentment. It is thought that President Bayar disapproves of M. Menderes' autocratic tendencies, although the two have recently appeared to be on good terms and working harmoniously together. It was not, however, till 1955 that his authoritarian attitude and the deteriorating economic situation led to serious opposition within his own party.

This crystallised first in the resignation from the party of a group of dissidents led by M. Karaosmanoglu (*q.v.*) and M. Çelikbaş (*q.v.*), who founded the new Freedom Party in December 1955; and, secondly, in a revolt of the Party Parliamentary Group in late November which resulted in the resignation of M. Menderes and his Cabinet. Nevertheless, he received a personal vote of confidence from the group and formed a new Cabinet in which he included a number of new and hitherto unknown Ministers. He undertook to carry out a number of democratic reforms and also measures of economic retrenchment; but it was not long before he again felt strong enough to resume his autocratic methods. The political reforms have not materialised and in May and June 1956 he rushed more undemocratic laws through the Assembly, in particular measures to reinforce the Press laws and the law on public meetings. The economic reforms are so far inadequate, and he has refused to modify the ambitious capital development programme on which he sets great personal store. He has weathered considerable criticism over his handling of the riots in September 1955 and allegations that he was personally responsible. In short, though his position both inside and outside Turkey has been seriously shaken, he still appears to be in full control of the Democrat Party and of the Government, chiefly because no serious rival to him has emerged from any quarter.

M. Menderes takes a strong interest in foreign affairs; he has paid official visits to many European and Asiatic capitals, including London, and also to Washington. He attended the coronation of Her Majesty the Queen. In early 1955 M. Menderes was indefatigable to promote the Turco-Iraqi Pact and has been a consistent supporter of the Bagdad Pact which grew out of it. He took the conduct of foreign affairs more and more into his own hands and in April 1955 dismissed Fuat Köprülü (*q.v.*) and took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs himself until July 1955, when Fatin Zorlu (*q.v.*) became Foreign Minister. He has always worked closely with M. Zorlu and has relied on him for advice, but has continued to exercise close personal control of foreign policy whoever the Minister in office might be. He was the Turkish spokesman in the talks that took place during the Secretary of State's visit to Ankara in March 1956 and expressed himself with his usual clarity and force.

He dresses carefully, is married and has one son. He speaks some English which, though hesitant, is improving, and understands it reasonably well.

92. Menderes, Ethem

Born in 1899 in Izmir, he studied at the Istanbul Faculty of Law and practised law in Aydin for many years. He was Mayor of Aydin several times. In the early thirties he was associated with Fethi Okyar's Free Party, and he joined the Democrat Party at the time of its foundation. He stood as Democrat candidate for Aydin in the general elections of 1946 and 1950, and in 1950 he was returned. In August 1952 he was appointed Minister of the Interior. He has acted as Foreign Minister during the absences of M. Köprülü. Appointed Minister of National Defence in May 1954.

He was appointed Acting Minister of the Interior after the riots of September 6–7, 1955, and was confirmed as Minister of the Interior on September 30. He survived the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 in the same appointment and was appointed Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs after the resignation of Professor Köprülü (*q.v.*) in June 1956.

A wealthy landowner, he is a boyhood friend but no blood relation of Adnan Menderes. His zeal for the Democrat Party earned him his appointment to the Ministry of the Interior, and he is reputed to be capable and energetic, but in none of his Ministerial appointments does he seem to have made any strong impression. He is courteous, pleasant to meet and personally friendly to us. He speaks Turkish only but his wife speaks French.

93. Menemencioğlu, Numan

Born in 1880 of an influential family, he was educated at Galatarasay and studied law in Switzerland. In 1915 he joined the Turkish Foreign Service and served successively in Vienna, Berne, The Hague, Athens, Budapest, Beirut and the Ministry, until in 1933 he was promoted Ambassador and appointed to the new post of Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Having played a prominent part in the Montreux Conference and the Alexandretta negotiations, he was elected deputy for Gaziantep in 1937 in order to become Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but soon afterwards, when this post was abolished, he resigned his seat and returned to his previous post. He conducted the negotiations for the Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty of 1939 and for the Turco-German Credit Agreement of the same year. In August 1942 he was elected deputy for Istanbul, and a few days later appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. In June 1944 he resigned and was appointed Ambassador to Paris. From 1949 to 1951 he was accredited also to Lisbon.

For many years Menemencioğlu was the leading authority on foreign affairs and his influence in shaping Turkish policy was considerable. Intelligent, subtle and hard-working, he is an able and unscrupulous negotiator, and is generally considered to be Turkey's leading diplomat. He was probably mainly responsible for keeping Turkey out of the war early in 1944.

Now deaf and in indifferent health, he is somewhat retiring, but friendly and likeable. He is a good bridge player, and speaks excellent French.

94. Mengüç, Fevzi, General

Born in 1896 and commissioned in 1914, he served on most fronts in the first world war and took part in the War of Independence. Between 1929 and 1931 he attended courses at German military schools.

Promoted major-general in 1941, he was for some time Inspector of Engineers. He was appointed Commandant of the Staff College and promoted lieutenant-general in 1947. In 1952 he was appointed to command the Third Army (Erzurum). In 1954 he became Commander of the Combined Staff Colleges at Yildiz. Appointed a member of the Supreme Military Court and Chairman of the Supreme Military Court of Appeal in June 1956.

Although shrewd and hard-working, he is not impressive as a Commander. He is very friendly to British officers. Married, he speaks German, some French, and is teaching himself English, which he can now speak a little.

95. Müstecabi, Esat Adil

Born about 1890, he was once a judge and a reformist prison governor. However, he resigned from the public service and devoted himself to social reform. In 1946 he formed the Turkish Socialist Party and began to publish a newspaper.

He was arrested at the end of 1946 for alleged

Communist activity; but in 1949 he was acquitted and released for lack of evidence, and in 1950 he re-founded his Socialist Party and became editor of a new Socialist newspaper *Gerçek*. The newspaper soon died out, and the Socialist Party attracted little support: in the 1951 by-elections Müstecabi himself polled less than 1 per cent. of the votes in Istanbul. In June 1952 his party was suppressed for alleged Communist activity and he himself was rearrested and imprisoned. He is now at liberty again but remains under constant police supervision.

Originally not a dogmatic Communist, he has shown no undue pro-Soviet leanings, at any rate in public, though some of his newspaper articles urged neutralism.

96. Nadi, Nadir

Born in Fethiye in 1908, he studied at the Galatasaray Lycée and in Germany and Austria. He inherited from his father *Cumhuriyet*, one of the most powerful newspapers in the country.

Elected Independent deputy for Muğla with Democrat Party support in 1950, he has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly; and every year since 1948 he has attended a number of international conferences as an official Turkish delegate. In 1954 he was a member of the Turkish Delegation to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, but was defeated in the D.P. parliamentary group's election for this position in May 1955.

Nadi, who is Westernised, wordly, and strongly anti-religious, spends as much of his time as possible in Western Europe. An admirer of German culture and formerly pro-Nazi, he now supports Turkish ties with the West and enjoys a good reputation in official circles. His newspaper is still independent, but generally supports the Democrat Government. Elected as an Independent Deputy in the D.P. list, May 1954. Both he and his wife speak French.

97. Nasuhioğlu, Rükneddin

Born in 1894 at Scutari. Educated at the Istanbul School of Political Science, he entered civil service and rose to be Governor of Içel in 1935 and in 1939 Director-General at the Ministry of the Interior. After four more governorships he was placed *en disponibilité* in 1949. Elected a Democrat Deputy in 1950, he was appointed Minister of the Interior in the first Democrat Government. In the Cabinet reshuffle of March 1951 he exchanged the portfolio of the Interior for that of Justice.

However he had been too closely associated with the P.R.P. for the more radical members of the Democrat Party, who alleged particularly that he had rigged the 1946 elections against them in Samsun; and in November 1952 he was forced to resign. Re-elected a Democratic Party Deputy in May 1954. In January 1955 he was a member of the Prime Minister's party for his official visit to Iraq and the Lebanon.

Retiring, but not unfriendly, he is married and speaks some French.

98. Nermi, Mustafa

The leader writer and columnist of the politically independent *Yeni Istanbul*, he was born in Koprulu (Velez-Yugoslavia), then under Turkish rule, and was first educated in 1890 at the Monastir Secondary School. He completed his studies in Salonika and came to Istanbul to teach at a religious seminary. Shortly before the outbreak of World War I he studied in Paris and returned to Istanbul to join the Union and Progress movement, contributing articles to a magazine published by the party. He left for Germany towards the close of 1920 and remained there for thirty years. In Germany he went into business but at the same time was the recognised representative there of the Union and Progress movement, his principal task being the dissemination of propaganda. During World War II he regularly sent articles to *Cumhuriyet* from Germany.

M. Nermi returned to Istanbul in 1949 and joined *Yeni Istanbul*. He is very much pro-German and although he claims to be friendly to us wild criticisms of Her Majesty's Government are not infrequent. He speaks French, German and a little English. He is a strictly "no party" man.

99. Okan, Zekai, General

Born in 1894, and commissioned in 1912. He served in the First World War and in the War of Independence. In 1936, when he was a colonel, he was appointed to form an Armoured Combat Command and became its commander. In 1938 he was promoted brigadier. Promoted major-general and a divisional commander in 1940. 1944 inspector of signals; 1947 G.O.C. air defence; 1948 promoted lieutenant-general and corps commander; 1950 Vice-Chief of the General Staff. In 1951 he led a "goodwill" military mission to Pakistan, and in 1952 he was promoted general and became G.O.C., First Army. In July 1952, however, he returned to his previous post as V.C.G.S. In 1954, after being head of the Turkish Liaison Mission in Japan (for Korea), he retired but was recalled in May 1955 to become a member of the Supreme Military Council. Appointed Turkish Ambassador at Kabul in December 1955.

General Okan is self-opinionated and difficult to get to know. The American Mission used to complain that he never fulfilled his undertakings. He is married.

100. Ökmen, Nedim

Born in Kilis in 1908, he is a graduate of the School of Political Sciences. Originally a civil servant, he had risen to be Chief Inspector at the Ministry of Finance before his election as Democrat Deputy for Maraş in 1950.

In March 1951 he was appointed Minister of Agriculture, and he was reappointed in May 1954. After the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 he was appointed Minister of Finance. There were stories that his financial policy was opposed to the Prime Minister's and that he was a possible successor to M. Menderes. He resigned in August 1956, most probably on account of his opposition to M. Menderes' financial policy and to M. Zeyyat Mandalinci's (*q.v.*) activities as Minister of Economy and Commerce. His resignation has disappointed those who saw him as a possible successor to M. Menderes.

He speaks some French and his wife some English. Both are friendly.

101. Öktem, Ibrahim

Born in Karaman in 1904, he is a doctor by profession. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Bursa in 1954 he resigned from the Party with the other dissidents in 1955 and joined the Freedom Party, of which he was elected Secretary-General.

He is an intelligent and sensible man but without any marked personality; and, although he has been active in opposing the Government in Assembly debates, particularly on political issues, he does not appear to constitute a major force. He is largely occupied with the organisation of the new party.

He speaks French and a little English.

102. Oral, Cavit

Born in Adana in 1904 he studied at Würtemberg Agriculture School and the Istanbul School of Political Science. Elected Deputy for Nigde in 1935 and in 1943, deputy for Seyhan. On the formation of the second Hasan Saka Cabinet in June 1948 he became Minister of Agriculture and continued to hold this portfolio on the formation of the Günaltay Cabinet in January 1949. He lost his seat in the 1950 general elections. For some time he remained an influential member of the party and associated himself with Şemsettin Günaltay's plans for its reform. He has now completely severed his connexions with the P.R.P. and supports the Government whole-heartedly. He was elected as an Independent Deputy in the D.P. list in May 1954, and joined the party shortly after the elections. He is now on good terms with the Prime Minister, and is trying to build up his position in the D.P. in the rich Adana area.

He owns, and at one time edited, the *Bugün Gazetesi* of Adana and early in 1951 started a daily paper, *Hürses*, in Ankara, which he edits and to which he contributes regularly.

He speaks some German and is friendly to us.

103. Orbay, Hüseyin Rauf

Born in 1881, he was trained as a naval officer, and distinguished himself as captain of the *Hamidiyeh* during the Balkan wars. In the first world war he eventually became Chief of the Naval Staff, and at its close, as Minister of War, he signed the armistice at Mudros on the 30th October, 1918.

Elected deputy to the Ottoman Parliament in 1920, he helped Atatürk to create the nationalist movement and was arrested and deported to Malta. In 1922 he became Atatürk's Prime Minister, but he resigned after the Treaty of Lausanne in protest against his constitutional policy. In 1924 he went into opposition and became president of the new Progressive Party. In 1926 he went to London and soon afterwards was sentenced, *in absentia*, to ten years' imprisonment for conspiracy against Atatürk's life. He remained in exile until 1936 and was never reconciled to Atatürk. In 1939 he was elected deputy and officially exonerated from any part in the plot against Atatürk; and in 1942 he was appointed ambassador in London. He resigned in 1944.

A charming and popular old man, M. Orbay is on good terms with all parties, but has himself made no serious effort to return to politics since his defeat in a by-election in Istanbul in 1949. He is a consistent and ardent supporter of Anglo-Turkish friendship and speaks English well.

104. Ozansoy, Muniz Faik

Born in 1911 at Mitylene, of which his father Faik Âli was governor, later an Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior and a celebrated poet. There was a long family literary tradition, and M. Ozansoy's grandfather followed in the family tradition, and published two collections of poetry and a number of literary and critical essays; he also founded and edits a literary periodical, *Hisar*.

M. Ozansoy was educated at Galatasary at Istanbul and took his degree in law at Ankara. He joined the Iş Bank in 1933. At the Ministry of Economy, which he joined in 1939, he was successively a Director of Section, an Inspector and a President of the Corps of Inspectors in 1946. In 1949 he became Director-General of the Foreign Trade Department and in May 1953 an Under-Secretary of State.

At the request of the Commission which investigated the alleged irregularities in office of Hasan Polatkan (*q.v.*) Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (*q.v.*) and Sitki Yireali (*q.v.*), he was placed *en disponibilité* for several months. He returned to office, thinner but much rested, shortly before the three ex-Ministers were exonerated by the Commission.

He is hard-working but "heavy" and long-winded. But he is patient and willing to listen to complaints. He is honest and reasonably intelligent but not well equipped as an economist. He speaks English and excellent French.

105. Özel, Ahmet

Born in Sivas in 1910, he received a technical education and specialised in Electrical Engineering. Eventually became Rector of the Technical University at Istanbul. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Sivas in 1954, and appointed Minister of Education in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955.

M. Özel speaks English and French. He is said to be pleasant and easy to work with, but not outstanding.

106. Perin, Mithat

Born in 1917 at Nevrekop in Macedonia, he was educated at the Galatasary Lycée and at Brussels University.

He played a prominent part in the establishment of the Democrat Party in Izmir in 1946 and but for a difference with the party leaders would have been a candidate there in the general election of 1950. He had journalistic experience with several newspapers in Istanbul and in 1946 joined the staff of *Demokrat Izmir*, the D.P. organ in that area. For a time he was principal sub-editor of the Istanbul daily, *Yeni Istanbul*, but soon resigned and started his own newspaper, *Istanbul Ekspres*, which is a daily evening paper. He is still owner-editor of this newspaper which supports the D.P. Government, and he is on good terms with the Prime Minister. He is active in the D.P. in Istanbul as a member of the party executive.

Widely travelled in Europe and the Middle East, Perin, who is pro-British, visited the United Kingdom as a member of the Turkish press delegation in 1953. He speaks French and has a fair command of English which, however, he is shy to use. His wife is an attractive woman who speaks excellent English.

107. Polatkan, Hasan

Born in 1915 of a Tartar family of Eskişehir, he studied at the School of Political Science and specialised in finance and banking. He was Inspector at the Agricultural Bank until 1946, when he joined the Democrat Party and was elected a Democrat Deputy. Re-elected in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Labour in the first Democrat Government. In December 1950 he was appointed Minister of Finance and very soon afterwards presented the first Democrat Party budget, which was mainly the work of the Prime Minister himself. In September 1953 he went to the United States to attend the I.M.F. meeting. In May 1954 he was reappointed Minister of Finance and was generally considered to have been a success in the post.

In 1955 his task became increasingly difficult as the country's economic situation deteriorated. He had to accept directives on economic policy from Fatin Zorlu (*q.v.*) and was said to have offered his resignation several times. Forced to resign in the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 he (with Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Sitki Yireali (*q.v.*)) became subject to a Parliamentary Investigation into his activities while at the Finance Ministry. He was (with the others) exonerated by the Commission in June 1956 and it is rumoured that he will soon be brought back into the Cabinet.

108. Rizan, Kadri

Born about 1893. A career diplomat, he was appointed Consul at Hamburg in 1925. First Secretary in Washington 1927–30. After serving in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a year he served as Counsellor at Rome, Warsaw, Brussels and London. Recalled to the Ministry in 1942, he was director-general of the Protocol Department from 1944 to 1949, when he was appointed Minister to Prague, but did not take up the appointment owing to the objections of some members of the Cabinet. He was unemployed until May 1950, when he was appointed counsellor in London. In the spring of 1952 he was sent to Bucharest as chargé d'affaires, and in September 1952 he was appointed Minister in Amman.

M. Rizan, who, as "Chef du Protocole" was competent but not always tactful, speaks fluent English and takes a pride in his English outlook. He is cultured, but not an engaging man; he is a snob. A bachelor.

109. Sarol, Mükerrem

Born in Gediz in 1909, he studied medicine in Istanbul and in Germany. He joined the Government medical service and eventually fetched up in Aydin, where he made friends with Adnan Menderes and joined the Democrat Party.

Elected Democrat Deputy for Istanbul in 1950 he was at one time party inspector in Istanbul, and is still the Prime Minister's *homme de confiance* there. He was appointed a Minister of State (for press affairs, amongst others) in May 1954 and (with M. Zorlu and M. Kapani, *q.v.*) became one of the Prime Minister's lieutenants.

M. Sarol is intelligent, but he is not popular in the party. His position depends on the favour of the Prime Minister. At the end of 1954 and in 1955 he gained some notoriety as the prosecutor of several journalists for libel and pursued what looked like a vendetta against them. He found it politic to hand over nominal control of his own newspaper *Türk Sesi* to a young Istanbul journalist. As Minister of State he controlled the allocation of newsprint and the placing of official advertisements.

The Prime Minister has stood by him in his disputes with the press and he is regarded in some circles as being responsible for the "undemocratic" tendencies of the Prime Minister, at any rate as regards the press.

He resigned from Ministry of State in October 1955 but apparently retained M. Menderes' favour. He was subject to a Parliamentary Investigation on charges of corruption while he was Minister of State for Press Affairs, but was exonerated in June 1956, to the dismay of the Opposition and of some of the Democrat Party. It is generally believed that Professor Köprülü (*q.v.*) resigned in disgust at his acquittal.

He is married and speaks French and German.

110. Sarper, Selim Rauf

Born in Istanbul in 1896 and educated at Heidelberg, he joined the Turkish Foreign Service and served in Moscow, Odessa, Berlin, Bucharest and in the Ministry. In 1939 he was appointed head of the newly created Central Information Bureau, which in 1943 was reorganised as the Directorate General of Press and Propaganda.

Appointed Ambassador to Moscow in 1944, he was transferred to Rome in 1946 and soon afterwards became Turkish representative to the United Nations Organisation. Although a protégé of Ismet Inönü, he managed to retain this post after the victory of the Democrats in the 1950 elections, and now seems to enjoy the confidence of the Democrats.

He made blunt speeches in the United Nations debates in 1954 on the Cyprus question, but he and his staff were not equipped to present the Turkish case effectively in the United States.

He speaks good English, is very presentable and has a very attractive wife. In his press post he was generally helpful to us.

111. Seven, Abdulkadir, General

Born about 1894, and commissioned about 1914, he fought in the First World War and the War of Independence.

Promoted brigadier-general in 1942, major-general and divisional commander in 1944, lieutenant-general and corps commander in 1948; he was appointed G.O.C., Second Army, in January 1952, and promoted general soon afterwards. In July 1954 he became Commander-in-Chief, Land Forces. Replaced by General Aknöz (q.v.) in June 1956, but remained on the Supreme Military Council.

General Seven does not give the impression of great intelligence and he is ageing quickly. He has a reserved manner but talks readily enough if addressed. He is married and speaks Turkish only.

112. Tacan, Necati, General

Born about 1895 and commissioned about 1914, he was an infantry officer. He served in the First World War and in the Turkish War of Independence. In 1945 he was promoted brigadier-general, and major-general in 1947. He commanded the 11th Division in 1948, the 23rd Division in 1949 and the 6th Division in 1951, when he was promoted lieutenant-general. He joined the Turkish General Staff in 1952 and in February 1953 took part in the Balkan Pact Staff talks in Ankara. In August 1953 he became Commander of the 15th Corps and Garrison Commander in Istanbul. In April 1954 he visited Belgrade as head of the Turkish group to the Balkan Pact Staff talks. Appointed Commander, Third Army, in June 1956; and promoted to full general in August 1956.

General Tacan is cheerful and popular and has always had good appointments, although he does not appear to be very intelligent. He speaks no foreign languages, but his wife speaks some English.

113. Tarhan, Mümtaz

Born in Istanbul in 1907, he graduated in Law and entered the Ministry of Finance, where he served in various posts finishing in 1954 as Chairman of the Supreme Accounts Committee. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Ankara in 1954, and appointed Minister of Labour in the 4th Menderes Cabinet in December 1955. Visited United Kingdom as a guest of Her Majesty's Government in July 1956.

M. Tarhan has always been interested in education and is Chairman of the Turkish Educational Association and President of the Board of Governors of Ankara College; and some people had expected that he would be Minister of Education in the new Cabinet.

He is a man of some personality and drive, although he is rumoured to be prone to intrigue and favouritism. He is reputedly pro-British and is said to have been responsible for the policy of recruiting British (as opposed to American) teachers for Ankara College. He is very ambitious.

He speaks French.

114. Tanriöver, Hamdullah Suphi

Born in Istanbul in 1885, and educated at Galatasaray, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and occupied himself in writing poetry. In 1910 he was appointed Professor of Turkish Literature at Istanbul. He travelled in Germany during the first world war and joined Mustafa Kemal in 1920.

In 1921 and in 1925 he was Minister of Public Instruction; and during the 'twenties he held several other high appointments. In 1923 he became President of the Turkish Ocaks, to which he devoted most of his time and energy; but in 1931, to his great grief, the Ocaks were merged into the Halkevis of the P.R.P. In the same year he was appointed Minister and later Ambassador in Bucharest.

He returned to Turkey in 1945, and was elected P.R.P. deputy for Istanbul in 1946. He resigned from the P.R.P. in 1947 and was elected Independent deputy for Manisa in 1950. In 1948 he tried to restart the Ocaks, but without great success. Elected an Independent Deputy in the D.P. list May 1954.

A pan-Turanian and sometimes pan-Islamic idealist, M. Tanriöver decided in 1946 to urge the moral value to youth of Moslem religious education. He secured an unexpected amount of support and obtained permission for religious classes. Smooth, genteel and platitudinous, his health is now indifferent. Elected President of the Franco-Turkish Cultural Association in 1955.

115. Taray, Cemal Hüsnü

Born about 1897, he was deputy for Gümüshane from 1925 to 1930. In 1928 he was chief Turkish delegate for the Exchange of Populations, and in 1929 Minister of Education.

Minister in Berne from 1930 to 1936, he was a member of the Turkish delegation to the Disarmament Conference in 1932. Again elected deputy in 1936 he was head of a Turkish Mission which negotiated a number of treaties and conventions in Tehran. Appointed Minister to Brussels in 1938, he was transferred to Warsaw as Ambassador in 1939. Appointed Ambassador in Tehran in 1941 he was recalled for telling the Queen of Persia at a reception that she had the loveliest breasts in the world.

Appointed Ambassador in Rome in 1944, he was later recalled on account of another alleged scandal and was employed in the Ministry as an adviser. He was retired from the service in 1949, but he appealed to the courts against the decision and won his case.

In February 1952 he became head of the Turkish Section of the newly-formed Turco-Greek Mixed Commission. In September 1952 he was appointed Ambassador in Athens. Nominated to Santiago in December 1953, he took up his post a year later.

Cemal Hüsnü is pleasant to talk to, speaks French and plays a fair game of bridge. He is, however, very impetuous. Is unmarried.

116. Tlabar, Madame Nazli

Mme. Tlabar is prominent in cultural affairs, a keen Democrat Party organiser in Istanbul, and known outside Turkey as a delegate to the Council of Europe.

Born in Istanbul in 1913, she was educated at the American Girls' School and later in Germany. She had no specialist training but turned from being a housewife to become a Deputy in Istanbul in 1950, and the first woman in Turkey to take a prominent part in political life. In 1952 she visited the United States as a guest of the State Department. Later that year she was elected a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly, and in November she was a member of the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

She was re-elected in the 1954 elections, and in 1954 and 1955 was a member of the Turkish Delegation to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. She is secretary-general of the (inactive) Turco-British Parliamentary Group. She is active in the Turkish Women's League and in the Turco-American Association. She recently resigned from the committee of the Turco-British Association to which she never had time to give any real attention, under pressure of other activities. Visited United Kingdom at the invitation of a local Conservative Association in January 1956.

She is well travelled and cultivated and speaks very good English as well as Greek. Nothing is heard in public of her husband. She has a son at school in Istanbul.

117. Törehan, Habib Edip

Born about 1890. A businessman, he was engaged for many years in successful trade with Germany, but by 1936, as the result of unfortunate deals, he was penniless. Then, with the support of leading Nazis, he organised export and import offices in Berlin and Hamburg and prospered once again. During the Second World War he helped the Germans considerably, was suspected of being a German agent and was placed on the Allied black list.

Now a very wealthy man, he bought *Tanin* from M. Yalçin in 1948, but it did not appear. In 1950 he founded *Yeni Istanbul*, a paper which tends to sensationalism, and which reported the assassination of Marshal Tito during his visit to London in 1953.

Törehan is a dubious commercial adventurer. He speaks German and spends a lot of time and money on his estate in Switzerland. He married his German secretary. He has good taste and is agreeable to talk to.

118. Tozan, Satvet Lütfi

Born at Trebinje, Herzegovina, in 1889 of Serbian Moslem parentage. Studied law in Geneva at the expense of Prince Sabahettin, who opposed the Sultan. During the First World War he had to go into hiding and was later captured and imprisoned. Escaped and was at large until the Allies occupied Constantinople. The new Turkish Government sent him to Paris for economic negotiations.

Later went into private business, buying and selling arms and other military supplies in many countries. During the Second World War he continued to trade in arms in many parts of Europe. In 1942 worked in the Balkans for S.O.E., was captured and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, but escaped by undergoing an operation and bribing his captors and returned to Turkey. He subsequently received the O.B.E. He continues to travel widely on business.

Tozan is a wealthy adventurer who is not to be trusted. He makes a habit of tackling distinguished British personalities. The French consider that he worked against them and will not allow him to enter France (he owns a house in Paris). He at one time owned the Emirgân Kiosk on the Bosphorus, but this was expropriated by the Turkish authorities, who also distrust him. He is married to his former secretary, a German.

He visited the United Kingdom in 1956 and wrote a sensible letter to *The Times* setting out Turkish views on Cyprus. This may have been prompted by his recent rapprochement with M. Menderes, with whom he used to be on terms of the bitterest personal enmity.

119. Tunaboylu, Ismail Hakki, General

Born in Bulgaria about 1897 and commissioned in the artillery about 1916. Took part in the First World War and War of Independence. In 1942 he spent six months in Germany on the Armament Purchasing Commission. Promoted brigadier in 1945 and major-general and divisional commander in 1948. Promoted lieutenant-general and became Chief of Staff, Land Forces, in 1950. In the summer of 1952 he was given acting command of the First Army. Later went as Chief of the Operations Branch to the Turkish General Staff for over a year, and in 1954 returned to command the First Army.

Having acted as Chief of the General Staff while General Baransel (*q.v.*) was ill, he was confirmed in the appointment in June 1956.

Hard-working and able, General Tunaboylu is mild-looking and wears glasses. He has a great admiration for the British Army and often recalls his visit to General Wavell's headquarters during the Second World War. Not talkative but friendly and receptive to modern ideas. He is held in high esteem by the United States military mission. Speaks poor French and no English. Married, but his wife never appears in public.

120. Türkmen, Behçet Lieutenant-General

Born in 1899 in Mitylene, he was commissioned in 1915 and served in the infantry and on the General Staff. He served in Palestine and in the War of Liberation he fought against the Greeks at Izmir. After the war he served on the Eastern Frontier and distinguished himself in action against the Kurds. After an interval spent as Military Attaché in Athens, Moscow and Stockholm, he returned to the Eastern Frontier in 1942 and held two staff appointments there. From 1944 to 1948 he was Director of Military Intelligence on the Turkish General Staff. He was appointed Brigadier-General at Iskenderun in 1950 and promoted Major-General in 1951 and, in 1952, he became Turkish Assistant Commander at H.A.L.F.S.E.E. in Izmir.

On September 5, 1953, he was appointed head of the Emniyet Mufettisligi (Turkish Security Service), which position he still holds. His first months in office were stormy owing to the antipathy of the old staff to his administrative reforms. He also had to withstand the unpleasantness caused by press reports on a court martial sentence for petty embezzlement of public funds while he was General Officer, Commanding, at Iskenderun. He appears now to have consolidated his position and is apparently on good terms with Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes.

He is pompous and self-opinionated, characteristics which tend to make him unpopular in army circles. He has pursued energetically his policy to turn the Turkish Security Service from an inefficient family business into an organisation based on Anglo-American concepts. He is Western in outlook: he speaks French, Russian, English and some German. He has a bridge-playing and expensive wife.

He has taken a great interest in the Counter Subversion Committee of the Bagdad Pact, of which he is at present chairman. He was said to be a protégé of Professor Köprülü (*q.v.*), but, in spite of rumours to the contrary, he has so far retained his appointment in spite of the latter's fall from office.

121. Uçaner, Fevzi, General

Born in 1900 of Kurdish stock. Served on Caucasian front in 1914–18 war, and on all fronts during the War of Independence. Was Chief of Air Staff on Turkish General Staff, and Director of Supply on the Turkish General Staff; and in April 1953 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Air Force.

He has a striking blonde wife and no children. He speaks quite passable English. He is always friendly to us, but more so to the Americans, and is easier socially than most senior Turkish officers. He is not very intelligent or energetic.

122. Ulaş, Fahrettin

Born in Istanbul in 1911, he was a banker and former manager of the Istanbul branch of the Central Bank. Elected Democrat Party Deputy for Istanbul in 1954 and appointed Minister of State in the Cabinet reshuffle following the riots of September 6–7, 1955. Appointed Minister of Economy and Commerce in the 4th Menderes Cabinet, in December 1955 he resigned, ostensibly because of ill-health (he does in fact suffer from high blood pressure) in May 1956 and was replaced by M. Zeyyat Mandalinci (*q.v.*). While in office M. Ulaş gained a reputation for industry, competence and honesty and his resignation was generally considered to have been caused by disagreement with M. Menderes' economic policy.

He speaks French and a little English.

123. Ulusan, Aziz, Rear-Admiral

Born about 1905, he joined the Turkish navy after the First World War and attended courses at Portsmouth during 1929 and 1930. Promoted commander and appointed to the Turkish General Staff in 1938, he visited the United Kingdom in 1939 on a purchase mission, and again in 1940. Naval attaché in London from 1942 to 1946, he was promoted captain in 1944. He held several senior naval appointments until 1949 when he became Director of Naval Intelligence on the Turkish General Staff. He left this appointment in 1951 to be the Turkish member of the Military Representatives' Committee of N.A.T.O. at Washington. He was promoted rear-admiral in 1950, and vice-admiral in 1955. He is now Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Defence.

Both Rear-Admiral Ulusan and his wife speak English well. He is well disposed to Britain and America. The leaders of the Democrat Party think well of him but probably do not leave much to his initiative. He is clever and ambitious with a propensity for intrigue, and it may be that his charm of manner and ability to understand our point of view give a false impression of his Westernisation. Underneath he is probably as dyed-in-the-wool a Turk as any.

Although it was at one time almost certain that he would be appointed Turkish Ambassador to Canada, he was transferred in August 1956 as Commander-in-Chief, Turkish Fleet, replacing Admiral Korutürk (*q.v.*).

124. Üresin, Yümnü, General

Born in 1898 in Elaziğ, he escaped from Constantinople, where he was A.D.C. to the Ottoman heir apparent, to fight with Atatürk in the War of Independence. He was later an instructor in the Staff College. Promoted brigadier in 1939 and lieutenant-general in 1945, he has served most of his time with mountain troops. In 1949 he was appointed Director of Operations and Training in the Ministry of National Defence, and in 1950 he retired. In the by-elections of 1951, he was elected Democrat deputy for Birecik. In November 1952 he was appointed Minister of Communications in place of M. Kurtbek. Replaced by Muammer Çavuşoğlu (*q.v.*) in May 1954. He speaks French and German and is said to be intelligent and energetic.

125. Ürgüplü, Suat Hayri

Son of the last Ottoman Sheikh-al-Islam, he was born in Damascus in 1903 and educated at the English school in Istanbul, Galatarasay, and the Istanbul Faculty of Law. In 1925 he was appointed Turkish General Agent on the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, and in 1932 he began to practise as a barrister in Istanbul.

Elected deputy for Kayseri in 1929, he was appointed Minister for Customs and Monopolies in 1933. He resigned in 1946 after a sugar scandal, but in 1948 he was cleared of all charges against him.

Re-elected Independent deputy for Kayseri with Democrat Party support in 1950, he represented Turkey at the 1950, 1951 and 1952 meetings of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and became a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly. In September 1951 he joined the Democrat Party, and in September 1952 he was appointed Ambassador to the German Federal Republic. He is highly thought of in Government circles. He was appointed Turkish Ambassador at London in August 1955 and took up his post in September.

He is said to be venal and untrustworthy and to have been mixed up in politics right up to his appointment to London.

126. Uz, Behçet, Dr.

Born in Buldan in 1895 he was educated at an Izmir secondary school and the Medical Faculty of Istanbul University where he specialised in children's diseases. From 1921 to 1930 he worked as a doctor in Izmir and in 1930 was elected to the Izmir Municipal Assembly of which he subsequently became president.

In 1941 he was elected P.R.P. Deputy for Denizli and for a few months in 1942 was Minister of Commerce in the Saracoğlu Cabinet. In 1943 he was appointed head of the P.R.P. in Istanbul and was re-elected for Denizli in 1944. In August 1946 he became Minister of Health in the Peker Cabinet but lost his place on the formation of the second Saka Cabinet in June 1948.

Dr. Uz lost his seat in the 1950 elections but was elected Deputy for Izmir as an Independent in the D.P. list in 1954. He had resigned from the P.R.P. in February 1953 because of personal differences with the Izmir leadership of the party and after his appointment as Minister of Health in May 1954 he officially joined the D.P.

Married, he speaks good French and German and a little English. Capable and efficient, he has considerable drive and organising ability. A rabid anti-Communist, he is friendly to us but also admires the Germans.

He resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in the crisis of November 1955 and was not reappointed. Little has been heard of him since.

127. Velibeşe, Zühtü

Born Izmir in 1890. Studied law at Salonika and in 1913 was appointed an assistant legal adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Resigned during the War of Independence to serve as a liaison officer with the Ministry on the east front. In 1923 he was called to the Izmir bar and later to the Ankara bar. He played a large part in preparing the Democrat Party's draft of the new electoral law of 1950.

Elected Democrat Deputy in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Economy and Commerce in the first Democrat Government, and generally acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absences of M. Köprülü. His inefficiency as Minister was widely criticised in commercial circles, and he was dropped from the Government in March 1951; but he remains a close personal friend of the Prime Minister and is a member of the Executive Council of the Democrat Party. He is also chairman of the board which controls the Government newspaper *Zafer*. Re-elected a Deputy in May 1954.

He is friendly to us. He speaks French well.

128. Yalçin, Hüseyin Cahit

Born in Istanbul in 1876, he was editor of *Tanin*, the official paper of the Committee of Union and Progress, from 1908 to 1912. Arrested and deported to Malta after the first world war, he was released in 1921, and after a year in Europe returned to Istanbul and started *Tanin* again in support of Mustafa Kemal. However, he gradually moved into opposition and in 1925 *Tanin* was suppressed and he was sentenced to life imprisonment in the fortress of Çorum. He was again tried in 1926 for conspiracy against Atatürk's life, but was acquitted and soon afterwards released.

In 1932 he created a sensation by calling in question Atatürk's linguistic theories and by opposing the wholesale elimination from the Turkish language of words of foreign origin. He returned to political life after Atatürk's death and in 1938 was elected P.R.P. Deputy for Kars.

During the second world war he made three visits to the United Kingdom and was throughout an enthusiastic supporter of the Allied cause, first in *Yeni Sabah* and later in *Tanin*, which he re-started in 1943. After the end of the war, awake to the Soviet danger, he turned his talents to an unmeasured denunciation of Soviet policy. In 1947 he sold his interest in *Tanin* and began to write for the P.R.P. *Ulus*. In 1947 and 1949 he led parliamentary delegations to the United Kingdom, and in 1949 he was appointed Turkish representative on the Palestine Conciliatory Commission. He retained this appointment until the summer of 1950 when his continued attacks on the Democratic Party Government forced them to end it. From 1951–54 he was a member of the Turkish delegation to the Assembly of the Council of Europe. Not re-elected a Deputy in May 1954.

In July 1954, following the elections, he was tried for writing six articles offensive to Adnan Menderes and Fuat Köprülü (*q.v.*) and harming the prestige of Turkey. His language had been, in fact, vulgarly abusive and he was sentenced to over two years' imprisonment, celebrating his 80th birthday in gaol. He and the P.R.P. made the most of his martyrdom, and journalists in Turkey as well as in the United States and Europe criticised the Prime Minister and provoked a violent reaction from the latter. Subsequently M. Yalçin was transferred to prison hospital for reasons of health and, when the incident had been largely forgotten, he was quietly released. He resumed writing for the P.R.P. in *Halkci* and in *Ulus* when it reappeared, but so far his criticism of the Government has been subdued and he has wisely avoided personalities.

A master of satire and invective, he has been a consistent and violent critic of the Democrat Government and has often directed virulent personal attacks on Adnan Menderes. Though now aged, he is still quite fearless and enjoys high prestige. A most likeable old man, and a staunch friend of Britain, he speaks French.

129. Yalman, Ahmet Emin

Born in Salonica of Dönme parentage in 1889, he was educated at the German school and the Law Faculty in Istanbul and studied economics at Columbia University. He was a correspondent in Germany during the first world war and afterwards he combined journalism with a sociological lectureship in Istanbul. In 1923 he started *Vatan*. In 1936, in co-operation with Zekeriya Sertel, he launched *Tan*, but left after a disagreement with Sertel and re-started *Vatan* in 1939.

Always an outspoken critic of the P.R.P. Government, he became one of the principal publicists of the Democrat Party, but did not hesitate to criticise its policy on occasions. He remains a general supporter of the Democrat Government, but may always take an independent line on any given issue. He went with the Prime Minister's party to the United States on his official visit in May 1954, but is not now so close to M. Menderes.

Vatan had begun to fall into disrepute and lose circulation when, in November 1952, a group of conspirators devoted to Moslem reaction made an

attempt on Yalman's life in Malatya. This incident, and the consequent strong action taken by the Government against extremists, brought Yalman back into prominence as something of a hero. In 1955 the paper was selling poorly, the circulation having dropped to a few thousand.

Capricious, unstable, and given to sensational comment, he likes to think of himself as a liberal, and is a keen supporter of moral rearmament. He is a regular visitor to the United Kingdom where he has many friends, but his feelings on "colonialism" have often led him into ill-informed denunciations, somewhat reminiscent of the Arab press, of British policy in the Middle East. On foreign policy his attitude vacillates, but he is fairly consistently pro-American: on internal affairs he fights religious reaction. Though difficult to reason with, he is personally friendly. He speaks English, French, German and Italian.

130. Yamut, Nuri, General

Born in 1890 and commissioned in 1908, he took part in both Balkan wars, fought on the Russian front in the Caucasus during the Great War and took part in the War of Independence. 1933 promoted major-general (accelerated promotion), General Officer Commanding, 9th Division; 1938 General Officer Commanding, 57th Division; 1939 promoted lieutenant-general, General Officer Commanding II Corps; 1943 General Officer Commanding XII Corps; 1945 promoted general, General Officer Commanding, Second Army; 1946 General Officer Commanding, First Army; 1949 General Officer Commanding, Ground Forces; 1950 Chief of the General Staff. He resigned in 1954 and stood successfully as Democrat Deputy for Istanbul.

As Chief of the General Staff, General Yamut perhaps did more to smooth the way of the United States Mission than any other senior officer would have done. He does not, however, give the impression of any great ability and was probably little more than a figurehead, although extremely popular in the Turkish Army. He appears to prefer the British to the Americans. He has a sense of humour. Speaks a very little French but is only willing to converse in Turkish. His wife is rather younger and speaks fluent English.

131. Yardimci, Celal

Born in Doğu Beyazit in 1911, he studied law in Istanbul and practised as a lawyer until his election as Democrat deputy for Ağri in 1950.

In 1951 he was one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Assembly and in April 1953 he was appointed Minister of State and, in May 1954, Minister of Education, replacing M. Burçak (*q.v.*). He showed little sign of life in the Ministry but he survived the Cabinet crisis of November 1955 and was appointed Minister of State (responsible for Supreme Court and Religious Properties affairs) in the 4th Menderes Cabinet.

In September 1954 he combined a week's visit to the United Kingdom with his visit to the United States in connection with the proposed assistance from the University of Nebraska to the proposed University of Eastern Turkey.

He is a faithful follower of M. Menderes, on whose favour he depends.

132. Yetkin, Nüvit

Born in Malatya in 1916, he is a lawyer by profession. Elected People's Republican Party Deputy for Malatya in 1954, he is rapidly becoming more prominent in P.R.P. affairs. He was the only candidate opposing Kasim Gülek for the post of Secretary-General at the Party Congress in 1956 and gained some votes.

He is generally said to be the coming man in the P.R.P. and is the main party spokesman in the Grand National Assembly. He has the reputation of being intelligent and balanced.

He speaks only Turkish.

133. Yircali, Sitki

Born in Balikesir in 1908, he studied law in Istanbul and Paris and afterwards practised as a lawyer in Balikesir, where he has also farming and industrial interests. Joining the Democrat Party soon after it was formed, he was elected to its Administrative Council in 1949; and in 1950 he was elected Deputy for Balikesir and became Vice-President of the Grand National Assembly. At the Democrat Party Congress in October 1951 he was elected a member of the party's Executive Committee, and in December 1951 he was appointed Minister of Customs and Monopolies. In September 1952 he was transferred to the Ministry of State Industries.

Appointed Minister of Economy and Commerce May 1954, changing offices with M. Çelikbaş (*q.v.*). An orator whose Ministerial career has been undistinguished so far. In June 1955 he attended the Beirut Economic Conference of Middle and Near Eastern States. He is married with two children. His wife is active in Democrat Party circles. He speaks French.

He was forced to resign in November 1955 and, with Hasan Polatkan (*q.v.*) and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu (*q.v.*), was made subject to a Parliamentary Investigation. With the others he was exonerated by the Commission in June 1956 but has not yet come back into prominence.

134. Yücel, Hasan Ali

Born in Istanbul in 1897, and educated at Istanbul University, he was at first teacher and afterwards joined the Ministry of Education, in which he rose to be Inspector-General. He was deputy for Izmir from 1935 to 1950, and Minister of Education from 1938 to 1946. After losing his seat in the general elections of 1950 he resigned from the P.R.P. and withdrew from political life.

A successful Minister of Education, Yücel is a liberal and tolerant man who seems to lack entirely the normal Turkish suspicion of foreigners. He is, however, regarded as a slightly unreliable intellectual and was suspected of Communist sympathies while in office. He is interested in British and French education, and whilst a Minister he did much to help the British Council, in whose activities he still takes great interest. He is still active as a political writer. His views are usually pro-British but he mixes criticism with approbation. Politically he is probably a back-number, though he claims he will make a comeback after the next elections. He is not a party man at present, but, so far as the P.R.P. is concerned, he detests Kasim Gülek (*q.v.*). He visited Cyprus in June 1955 and lectured to the Turkish community. Pleasant and entertaining, especially over a drink, both he and his wife seem to find life infinitely amusing. He speaks French.

135. Zeytinoğlu, Kemal

Born in Eskişehir in 1911, he studied engineering at Istanbul and Vienna and became a roads engineer. Elected Democrat Deputy for Eskişehir in 1946 and again in 1950, he was appointed Minister of Public Works in December 1950, and reappointed in May 1954.

M. Zeytinoğlu is a close friend of M. Menderes and was known under the previous régime for his bitter attacks in the Assembly on the People's Republican Party. He resigned with the rest of the Cabinet in November 1955 and was not reappointed. Little has been heard of him since.

He is married and has two children.

He speaks German and a little French.

136. Zorlu, Fatin Rüştü

Born in 1910 at Istanbul. He studied political science at Paris and law at Geneva, and was admitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1932 where he soon began to specialise in economic subjects. He was appointed head of the department dealing with commercial negotiations in 1937 and headed the permanent delegation to the League of Nations in 1938. He was first secretary for a time in Paris and in 1942 counsellor and chargé d'affaires at Moscow. In 1946 he was put in charge of the Economic Section of the Ministry and represented Turkey at the International Trade Organisation Conference at Havana, 1947–48. Was promoted to be an Assistant Secretary-General in 1950 and at the same time was put in charge of all E.C.A. and O.E.E.C. affairs. In the spring of 1952 he was appointed permanent Turkish representative on the North Atlantic Council, with the rank of Ambassador.

His influence with the Prime Minister grew rapidly and in May 1954 he was appointed Minister of State (the senior of three) and Deputy Prime Minister, and became Adnan Menderes' right-hand man. He dealt with N.A.T.O. and O.E.E.C. affairs, advised the Prime Minister on economic policy and dictated instructions to the Minister of Finance and other economic Ministers. In April 1955 he represented Turkey with some forcefulness at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. He suffered a set-back with the failure of his mission to the United States where he appealed for $300 million loan. He was appointed Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs from July to November 1955.

It was partly his unpopularity that precipitated the Cabinet crisis of November 1955, which started with a general call for his resignation from the Democrat Party Group. He duly resigned and was subjected to a Parliamentary Investigation into his activities as Head of the Finance Committee in his capacity of Deputy Prime Minister. He was, however, exonerated by the Commission in June 1956 and still appears to be very close to the Prime Minister. It is generally believed that M. Menderes is waiting for a favourable opportunity to reinstate M. Zorlu as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Ruthless and cynical, but certainly able, he is conscientious to the point of fanaticism in upholding Turkish interests. His knowledge of economics is limited, but he has unlimited faith in his own quick decisions. He is a stubborn negotiator, but possesses a dry sense of humour.

Under a veneer of Westernism he is probably a xenophobe. His wife is a daughter of Tevfik Rüştü Aras (*q.v.*). Speaks French and English.

137. Zorlu, Rifki Rüştü

Born in 1905; a career diplomatist who, after serving in Switzerland, Sweden, France and Canada, was appointed Head of the Second Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1951. He became Turkish Minister at Beirut in 1952 and Ambassador at Cairo in November 1954.

M. Zorlu is the brother of Fatin Zorlu (*q.v.*). He is unmarried.